

STUDIES ON
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF DIVINE AND HEROIC CHILDREN
IN ATTIC RED-FIGURE VASE-PAINTING OF THE FIFTH CENTURY BC

(Volume One)

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is an examination of the iconography of children in Attic red-figure vase-painting, concentrating mainly on the representation of mythological children, but considering also the applications of the study to red-figure scenes of everyday life.

The aims are two-fold: firstly to analyse iconographic types employed for the depiction of children by vase-painters, and secondly to use such a study to establish a foundation for the objective analysis of age representation of children in vase-painting.

The catalogue of vases comprises one hundred and ninety six entries. Discussion of this material is split into two sections; one dealing with the birth and childhood of the gods, and the other with that of the heroes. The first section is divided into two chapters, one on the most commonly represented infant god, Dionysos, and a second devoted to the remainder of the gods who appear as children. The second section comprises a chapter each on Attic and non-Attic heroes, and a further chapter considers representations of mythological female children.

The thesis concludes that divine and heroic children are represented on vases throughout the red-figure period, finding their phase of greatest popularity between about 490-40 BC. It is shown that most of the iconographic types employed for children are interchangeable for a variety of mythological, and often also mortal, offspring. Whilst the representation of infants and young children becomes increasingly naturalistic as the fifth century progresses, lack of an iconographic type (or types) for older children and adolescents is probably a reflection of the liminal status of the adolescent youth in fifth century Athenian society. Furthermore, the inferior status of women and children in that society illuminates the almost total absence of infant goddesses and heroines in red-figure, since a female child would probably have seemed too undignified a figure to be anything but mortal.

CONTENTS

Volume One

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract	1
Contents	2
List of illustrations	6
Acknowledgements	14
Abbreviations	15
General Introduction	18
Notes to Introduction	31
 <u>PART ONE: DIVINE CHILDREN</u>	 33
 <u>Chapter One: Dionysos</u>	 34
Conclusions	68
Notes	73
 <u>Chapter Two: Other Divine Children</u>	 80
Introduction	80
Hermes	81
Zeus	86
Apollo	89
Artemis	97
Asklepios	99
Ploutos	103
Conclusions	109
Notes	117

<u>PART TWO: HEROIC CHILDREN</u>	124
 <u>Chapter Three: Attic Heroes</u>	125
Introduction	125
Erichthonios	126
Kephalos	154
Eleusinian Children:	158
Eumolpos	158
Mousaios	160
Triptolemos	162
Hippothon	167
Ajax	172
Herakles & Associated Children:	176
Herakles: A. Herakles fighting snakes	176
B. Other events in Herakles' early childhood	184
C. Herakles at school	189
Iphikles	199
Hyllos & the Children of Herakles	200
Lichas & Philoktetes	207
Theseus	217
Conclusions	229
Notes	235
 <u>Chapter Four: Non-Attic Heroes</u>	253
Introduction	253
Perseus	254
Achilles	270
Trojan Children:	286
Astyanax	287
Troilos	308

Askanios	317
Ganymede (& Paris)	322
Tithonos	335
Oinopion (& Staphylos)	340
Orestes	348
Alkmaion (& Amphilochos)	361
Dryas	370
Itys/Itylos	378
Oidipus	384
Askalaphos/lalmenos	386
Erigone/Aletes?	390
Glaukos	393
Meleager's Son	395
Conclusions	399
Notes	412
 <u>Chapter Five: Heroic Female Children</u>	 433
Introduction	433
Female Children	434
Conclusions	443
Notes	445
 General Conclusions	 449
Notes to Conclusions	460
Tables	461

Volume Two

	<u>Page</u>
Catalogue of Vases	463
Bibliography	507
Plates	519

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>PL NO</u>	<u>CAT NO</u>	<u>PHOTOGRAPH SOURCE</u>
1a	1	<u>CVA</u> University of California 1, pl 48.
1b	2	<u>JHS</u> 54 (1934), 176, fig 1.
2a	3	K Schefold <u>Die Göttersage in der klassischen & hellenistischen Kunst</u> (1981), 32 fig 25
2b	4	BSA photographic archive
3a	5	O Graef & E Langlotz <u>Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen</u> II.2 (1933), pl 74.
3b	6	<u>LIMC</u> III, Dionysos 703, pl 380.
4a	7	AB Cook <u>Zeus</u> I (1914), 708 fig 524.
4b	8	Schefold <u>op cit</u> , 31 fig 23.
5	8	Author's drawing, taken from vase.
6	9	Author.
7a	10	Graef & Langlotz <u>op cit</u> , II.1, pl 20.
7b	10	" " " " " " pl 21.
8a	11	A Birchall & PE Corbett <u>Greek Gods & Heroes</u> (1974), fig 10.
8b	12	<u>Die Griechische Vase, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock</u> (Schwerin, 1967), pl 45.
9	14	Author's drawing, taken from <u>Monumenti Inediti</u> 2, pl 17.
10a & b	15	Author.
11a	15	Author.
11b	17	<u>LIMC</u> V, Hermes 368a, pl 229.
12	16	Author's drawing, taken from F Inghirami <u>Pitture di Vasi Fittili</u> II (1833), pl 194.
13a	19	<u>FR</u> III, 305 fig 146.
13b	18	M Robertson <u>Greek Painting</u> (1959), 125.
14	18	Vatican Museum, photo no XXXI.15.82 (part).

15a	20	GE Rizzo <u>Prassitele</u> (1932-40), pl 105.1.
15b	21	C Robert <u>Ermeneutica Archeologica</u> (1976), 523, fig 262.
16a	22	<u>AntK</u> 25 (1982), pl 8.2.
16b	13	<u>LIMC</u> III, Dionysos 691, pl 379.
17a	23	<u>LIMC</u> III, Dionysos 697, drawing on p 481.
17b	24	A Greifenhagen <u>Alte Zeichnungen nach unbek- annten griechischen Vasen</u> (1976), fig 31.
18a	25	H Walter <u>Vom Sinnwandel griechischer Mythen</u> (1959), 21 fig 14.
18b	26	<u>CVA</u> Vienna 1, pl 47.1.
19a	27	G van Hoorn <u>Choes & Anthesteria</u> (1951), pl 42.
19b	28	H Metzger <u>Les Représentations</u> (1951), pl 8.
20a	29	C Bérard <u>Anodoi</u> (1974), pl 19, fig 68.
20b	30	H Metzger <u>Recherches</u> (1965), pl 25.
21	31	Vatican Museum, photo no XXXII-23-45.
22a	32	<u>AntK</u> 14 (1971), pl 40.1.
22b	33	HW Smith <u>Der Lewis Maler</u> (1939), pl 23a.
23a	34	AB Cook <u>Zeus</u> III (1940), 932 fig 776.
23b	35	" " " " " , 930 fig 775a.
24a	36	<u>Archeologia classica</u> 2 (1950), pl 37.2.
24b	37	<u>JdI</u> 47 (1932).
25a	38	L Burn <u>The Meidias Painter</u> (1987), pl 46.
25b	28	Schefold <u>op cit</u> , 66 fig 80.
26a	39	H Metzger <u>Recherches</u> (1965), pl 14.1.
26b	40	<u>CVA</u> Tübingen 4, pl 50.1.
27a	41	H Metzger <u>Recherches</u> (1965), pl 16.2.
27b	42	H Metzger <u>Les Représentations</u> (1951), pl 32
28a	43	<u>Getty Vases</u> 5 (1991), 77 fig 1b.
28b	44	C Bérard <u>Anodoi</u> (1974), pl 2, fig 6.
29a	45	AB Cook <u>Zeus</u> III (1940), pl 23.

29b	47	Cook <u>op cit</u> pl 24.
30a & b	46	<u>CVA</u> Berlin 3, pl 113.
31a & b	48	J Oakley.
32a & b	49	J Oakley.
33a	50	<u>Arch Δελτ</u> 31 (1976), B', pl 35a.
33b	51	<u>Πράκτικα του Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας, Athens 4-10 Sept 1983, 2</u> (Athens 1988), 105, fig 1.
34a	52	<u>AM</u> Beiheft 5 (1976), pl 2.
34b	53	<u>JHS</u> 102 (1982), pl 9b.
35a	54	<u>AM</u> Beiheft 5 (1976), pl 7.3.
35b	55	Schefold <u>op cit</u> , 52 fig 62.
36a	56	Author.
36b	58	<u>JHS</u> 14 (1894), pl 10.
37a	57	<u>AM</u> Beiheft 5 (1976), pl 8.1.
38a	59	Schefold <u>op cit</u> 317 fig 458.
38b	59	A Lezzi-Hafter <u>Der Eretria Maler</u> (1988), pl 157, c.d.g.h.
39a-c	60	L Burn <u>The Meidias Painter</u> (1987), pl 12c-d & 13a.
40a	61	Author
40b	62	Author
40c	63	L Burn <u>The Meidias Painter</u> (1987), pl 35.
41a	64	Getty Center Photo Archive.
41b	65	<u>CVA</u> Tübingen 4, pl 39.1.
42a	see ch 3, n 87.	<u>CVA</u> Basel 2, pl 30.
42b	66	R Flacelière & P Devambez <u>Héraclès: images et recits</u> (1966), pl 2.
43a	67	<u>LIMC</u> IV, Herakles 1651, pl 556.
43b	68	<u>LIMC</u> V, Iphikles 5, pl 482.
44a	69	F Brommer <u>Herakles</u> II (1984), 2 fig 1.
44b	70	<u>CVA</u> Munich 5, pl 228.2.

- 45a & b 71 CVA Schwerin 1, pl 25 & 26.
- 46a 72 Antike Welt 16 (1985), 2.56 fig 2.
- 46b 73 RA 1982, 208 fig 8.
- 47a 74 Flacelière & Devambez op cit, pl 3.
- 47b 75 AJNW Prag The Oresteia (1985), pl 25a.
- 48a 76 R Lullies & M Hirmer Griechische Vasen (1953), pl 92.
- 48b 78 Prag op cit, pl 44e.
- 49a 77 CVA Bologna 4, pl 60.1.
- 49b & 50a 82 Author.
- 50b 79 Author.
- 51 80 Apollo (Salerno) 1 (1961), 22.
- 52a 81 LIMC IV, Herakles 1675, pl 558.
- 52b 83 H Metzger Recherches (1965), pl 32b.
- 53a 84 C Smith Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum III (1896), pl 16.
- 53b 85 CVA Vienna 3, pl 118.5-6.
- 53c 86 JHS 70 (1950), 38 fig 3.
- 54a 87 JHS 70 (1950), 38 fig 4.
- 54b 88 JHS 18 (1898), 275 fig 6.
- 55a 89 Author.
- 55b see ch 3, n 163. E Pfuhl Malerei & Zeichnung III (1923), pl 237.
- 56a see ch 3, n 163. D Bellingham An Introduction to Greek Mythology (1989), 75.
- 56b see ch 3, n 163. JC Hoppin A Handbook of Attic Red-Figure Vases I (1919), 399.
- 57 90 AB Cook Zeus III (1940), pl 38.
- 58a 91 " " " " " , 459 fig 295.
- 58b 92 " " " " " , 457 fig 294.
- 59 93 Author.
- 60a 94 Dioniso 4 (1933-35), 284 fig 2.

60b	95	AD Trendall & TBL Webster <u>Illustrations of Greek Drama</u> (1971), 30.
61a	96	<u>AJA</u> 86 (1982), pl 13 fig 3.
61b	97	<u>AJA</u> 86 (1982), pl 12 fig 1.
62a	98	JM Woodward <u>Perseus</u> (1937), fig 20.
62b	99	<u>CVA</u> Toledo I, pl 44.2.
63a	100	<u>JdI</u> 100 (1985), fig 14c-d.
63b	101	Author.
64a & b	102	Author.
65a	103	Author.
65b	104	J Oakley <u>The Phiale Painter</u> (1990), pl 65C
66a	105	<u>CVA</u> Bonn 1, pl 31.
66b	107	B Philippaki <u>The Attic Stamnos</u> (1967), pl 22.2.
67a	108	<u>CVA</u> Copenhagen 4, pl 170.1a.
67b	109	Graef & Langlotz <u>op cit</u> , pl 22.
68a	110	Getty Center Photo Archive.
68b	111	<u>CVA</u> Berlin 2, pl 52.1.
69	112	J Paul Getty Museum.
70	113	J Paul Getty Museum.
71a	114	<u>JbBerlMus</u> 18 (1976), 14 fig 6.
71b	116	<u>LIMC</u> II, Astyanax I.15, pl 683.
72a & b	115	Pfuhl <u>op cit</u> , pl 138 fig 419 & pl 139 fig 420.
73a	117	Graef & Langlotz <u>op cit</u> , pl 10.
73b	118	<u>LIMC</u> II, Astyanax I.20, pl 684.
74a	119	<u>Recueil Ch Dugas</u> (1960), pl 16.
74b	120	Author.
75a	121	<u>Recueil Ch Dugas</u> (1960), pl 9.
75b	122	<u>CVA</u> Florence 2, pl 34.1.
76a	123	Pfuhl <u>op cit</u> , pl 114 fig 378.
76b	123	Author's drawing, taken from vase.

- 77 124 Author.
- 78a see ch 4, n 65. CG Boulter, ed Greek Art: Archaic into Classical (1985), 32 fig 4.
- 78b & c see ch 4, n 65. W Klein Euphronios (1886), 214-5.
- 79a 125 Pfuhl op cit, pl 154 fig 446.
- 79b 126 M Robertson Greek Painting (1959), 98.
- 80a 129 S Kaempf-Dimitriadou Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5 Jh v Chr (1979), pl 1.1.
- 80b 140 CVA Basel 2, pl 52.2 & 53.2.
- 81 131 J Paul Getty Museum.
- 82a 133 JD Beazley The Pan Painter (1974), pl 18.1
- 82b see ch 4, n 94. Beazley op cit, pl 18.2.
- 83 144 J Paul Getty Museum.
- 84a 128 AntK 2 (1959), pl 6.3.
- 84b 146 Schefold op cit, 213 fig 249.
- 85a 148 Schefold op cit, 216 fig 297.
- 85b 151 Author.
- 86a & b 153 Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit, pl 5, 5 & 6.
- 87a 154 Schefold op cit, 215 fig 296.
- 87b see ch 4, n 97. RA 1982, 199 fig 2.
- 88a 155 Pfuhl op cit, 103 fig 360.
- 88b 157 AB Cook Zeus III (1940), 1051 fig 845.
- 89 156 Vatican Museum, photo no XXXI.14.90 (part)
- 90a & b 158 Schefold op cit, 222 figs 303 & 305.
- 91a 159 Sotheby Sale Catalogue 27.11.67.
- 91b 161 Getty Center Photo Archive.
- 92a 160 CVA Cambridge I, pl 38.
- 92b 162 K Arafat Classical Zeus (1990), pl 30b.
- 93a 163 D von Bothmer, ed Glories of the Past (1990), 156 no 117A.

- 93b 164 LIMC IV, Ganymedes 64, pl 81.
- 94a 165 ~~ApyEd~~ 1977, pl 1 .
- 94b 166 RA 1982, 131 fig 10.
- 95a 167 AB Cook Zeus I (1914), 409 fig 304.
- 95b see ch 4, n 105. Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit, pl 8.6.
- 96 see ch 4, n 106.i. J Paul Getty Museum.
- 97a see ch 4, n 106.iii. Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit, pl 8.5
- 97b see ch 4, n 107.i. " " " , pl 11.6.
- 98a see ch 4, n 107.ii. " " " , pl 10.5.
- 98b see ch 4, n 125. Pfuhl op cit, pl 59 fig 232.
- 99a 168 E Pottier Vases Antiques du Louvre (1897),
pl 114.
- 99b 169 ASA ns 1-2 (1939-40), 71 fig 8.
- 100a 170 Schefold op cit, 30 fig 22.
- 100b 172 CVA Vienna 1, pl 39.2.
- 101 171 Author's drawing, taken from A Zannoni
Scavi della Certosa (1876), pl 50, no 25.
- 102a 173 J Powell New Chapters in the History of
Greek Literature (1933), 82 fig 1.
- 102b 174 AD Trendall & TBL Webster Illustrations of
Greek Drama (1971), III.3, 47.
- 103a 175 DM Robinson Olynthos XIII (1950), pl 62.
- 103b 176 AM 105 (1990), Beilage 7.
- 104a 177 TBL Webster Der Niobidenmaler (1935) pl 9a
- 104b 178 J Henle Greek Myths: A Vase Painter's Note
-book (1973), 19 fig 11.
- 105a 179 Clara Rhodos VIII (1936), 218 fig 6.
- 105b 180 AZ 43 (1885), pl 15.
- 106a see ch 4, n 169. LIMC I, Amphiaraios 73a, pl 568.
- 106b see ch 4, n 170. AM 96 (1981), pl 45.2.
- 107a 181 Trendall & Webster op cit, III.1, 13.
- 107b 182 JdI 55 (1940), 496 fig 39.

- 108 183 Author.
- 109a see ch 4, n 182. RA 1982, 241 fig 5.
- 109b see ch 4, n 182. RA 1982, 240 fig 4.
- 110a 184 C Boulter, ed Greek Art: Archaic into Classical (1985), pl 34.
- 110b 185 Boulter op cit, pl 35.
- 111a 186 Boulter op cit, pl 36.
- 111b 187 K Schefold Die Urkönige (1988), 74 fig 80.
- 112a 188 Pfuhl op cit, pl 197 fig 521.
- 112b see ch 4, n 205. D Buitron Attic Vase-Painting in New England Collections (1972), 122 no 67
- 113a 189 Author.
- 113b 190 I Wehgartner Attisch Weissgrundige Keramik (1983), pl 6.2.
- 114a & b 191 Author.
- 115a & b 191 Boulter op cit, pl 67.
- 116a 192 M Robertson Greek Painting (1959), 130.
- 116b 193 Author.
- 117a 194 LIMC III, Enorches 1, pl 562.
- 117b 196 JdI 47 (1932), 64 fig 15.
- 118a see ch 5, n 15. LIMC V, Iphigeneia 1, pl 466.
- 118b see ch 5, n 22. JHS 67 (1947), 1 fig 1.
- 119a see ch 5, n 22. JHS 67 (1947), 3 fig 2.
- 119b see ch 5, n 27. Buitron op cit, 70 no 31.
- 120 see ch 5, n 29. Getty Center Photo Archive.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	<u>Archäologische Anzeiger</u>
<u>ABV</u>	JD Beazley <u>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</u> (Oxford, 1956)
<u>Add</u>	TH Carpenter <u>Beazley Addenda</u> (Second Edition, Oxford 1989)
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>AM</u>	<u>Athenische Mitteilungen</u>
<u>AntCl</u>	<u>L'Antiquité Classique</u>
<u>AntK</u>	<u>Antike Kunst</u>
<u>Αρχ Δελτ</u>	<u>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</u>
<u>Αρχ Εφ</u>	<u>Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική</u>
<u>ARV</u>	JD Beazley <u>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</u> (Second Edition, Oxford 1963)
<u>ASA</u>	<u>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica de Atene</u>
<u>AZ</u>	<u>Archäologische Zeitung</u>
<u>BABesch</u>	<u>Bulletin van de Antieke Beschaving</u>
<u>BCH</u>	<u>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</u>
<u>BICS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</u>
<u>BSA</u>	<u>Annual of the British School at Athens</u>
<u>Bull Cleveland Mus</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</u>
<u>CP</u>	<u>Classical Philology</u>
<u>CR</u>	<u>Classical Review</u>
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Classical Quarterly</u>
<u>CVA</u>	<u>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</u>
<u>EAA</u>	<u>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica</u>
<u>FR</u>	A Furtwängler, K Reichhold, et al <u>Griechische Vasenmalerei</u> (Munich, 1904-32)
<u>GGA</u>	<u>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</u>
<u>HSCP</u>	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u>
<u>JbBerlMus</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen</u>

<u>JdI</u>	<u>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen</u> <u>Instituts</u>
<u>JHS</u>	<u>Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>
<u>LIMC</u>	<u>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</u>
<u>NC</u>	<u>Numismatic Chronicle</u>
<u>ÖJh</u>	<u>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen</u> <u>Institutes</u>
<u>Para</u>	JD Beazley <u>Paralipomena</u> (Oxford, 1971)
<u>RA</u>	<u>Revue Archéologique</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertums-</u> <u>wissenschaft</u>
<u>REG</u>	<u>Revue des Études Grecques</u>
<u>Revue belge</u>	<u>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</u>
<u>RivIstArch</u>	<u>Rivista del Reale Istituto d'Archeologia e</u> <u>Storia dell'Arte</u>
<u>RM</u>	<u>Römische Mitteilungen</u>
Roscher <u>ML</u>	W Roscher <u>Lexikon der griechischen & römischen</u> <u>Mythologie</u> (Leipzig, 1884-1937)
<u>SbBerl</u>	<u>Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der</u> <u>Wissenschaften zu Berlin</u>
<u>TAPhA</u>	<u>Transactions of the American Philological</u> <u>Association</u>
<u>YCS</u>	<u>Yale Classical Studies</u>
<u>ZPE</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie & Epigraphik</u>

Non-bibliographical abbreviations

Cab Méd	Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
cat	catalogue
ch	chapter
fig	figure
p	page
PL/PLS	plate/plates
n	note
no	number

Unless otherwise stated, all dates are BC.
Catalogue numbers are indicated throughout the text in bold type and parentheses.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis has two purposes: first to examine in detail divine and heroic children in Attic red-figure; second to use such a study to establish a foundation for the objective analysis of age representation of children in vase-painting.

In the earlier part of this century, the portrayal of children in Greek art was treated by D Heubach Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst (1903), by G van Hoorn De vita atque cultu puerorum, monumentis antiquis explanato (1909), and by A Klein Child Life in Greek Art (1932). Little was subsequently produced until more or less the last decade, when attention turned to the socio-historical aspects of childhood in ancient Greece with the work of M Deissmann-Merten in J Martin and A Nitschke (eds) Zur Sozialgeschichte der Kindheit (1984), of E Kunze-Götte Kinderleben in alten Griechenland (1985), of MG Koliadis Die Jugend in Athen der klassischen Zeit (1988), and of M Golden Children and Childhood in Classical Athens (1990). Some research has also recently been carried out into the representation of the child figure: H Rühfel's Kinderleben im klassischen Athen: Bilder auf klassischen Vasen (1984) is a useful, though general, survey of children in Attic vase-painting; O Hirsch-Dyczek has analysed Les Représentations des enfants sur les stèles funéraires attiques (1983); C Vorster has examined Griechische Kinderstatuen (1983), and EH Loeb has focussed on Die Geburt

der Götter in der griechischen Kunst der klassischen Zeit (1979). However, a methodical study of the iconography of children in Attic red-figure vase-painting, and any subsequent implications for the representation of age, has never been undertaken: the present enquiry is designed to help fill this lacuna. C Sourvinou-Inwood's work on the iconography of the female child figure and the evidence of the Brauronia in Studies in Girls' Transitions (1988) should here be mentioned: girls, however, enter little into the fabric of this thesis because of the nature of the red-figure depiction of mythological children.

A study of the representation of mythological children in red-figure is a good starting point for the exploration of the iconography of childhood, since it is in these mythological scenes, rather than in scenes of everyday life, that we are often more capable of understanding the pictorial context which plays such an important role in helping us to decipher the iconography of the individual figures. Our knowledge of the mythological background from contemporary, or near contemporary, ancient literary sources and the frequent presence of inscriptions naming the figures on the vases clarify the identity of the characters within a scene and their relationships one to another. Furthermore, a comparison of pictorial and literary evidence can cast interesting and unexpected perspectives on the iconography of children in vase-painting, especially when the extant written sources specify a particular age or stage of life at which the mythological personality concerned performed a

certain feat. Of course, we must not assume just because one literary account asserts that the character was X years old when he carried out a particular deed, that all the vase-painters depicting the story would necessarily be following that same mythological tradition; myths often had several variants and versions, many of which are now lost to us. The vase-painters might not therefore have intended to represent the hero as a figure corresponding to X years of age. However, if we keep such provisos in mind, a comparison of age representation of specific mythological personalities in vase-painting and in literature is well worthwhile since it can sometimes provide a context for the objective analysis of the iconography of age and the representation of life stages in red-figure.

In this thesis I gather together all the known red-figure representations of mythological children and analyse the iconographic types utilised and devised for their depiction. I also trace the development of, and changes in, these types throughout the fifth century. The isolation of such iconographic types and, where possible, the interpretation of any particular meaning or significance they carry, will help us to understand red-figure conventions for the depiction of youth. Where these iconographic types occur contemporaneously in other media such as sculpture, metal-work and wall-painting, we have the opportunity to test hypotheses formulated from vase-painting, and also to examine the relationship of vase-painting to these other arts and crafts by attempting to trace the inspiration for

common iconographic schemata.

I also examine whether mythological childhood scenes in general or individual mythological children in particular experienced phases of especial popularity related to specific chronological periods, vase painters and/or vase shapes of the red-figure style. Where such a phenomenon does occur, the possible reflection in vase-painting of current events, politics, religion, social change, theatre or other such external factors is discussed. Furthermore, similarities and differences in the representation both of divine and heroic, and of mythological male and female children are noted, since this may illuminate divergent attitudes and approaches to these discrete groups.

I concentrate here on the representation in red-figure of mythological children, but the implications of such a study for the representation of mortal children and of scenes of everyday life are also considered. There is, as I shall show, much borrowing and interchange on the part of the vase-painters between the iconographic types and schemata in use for the representation of mythological and of mortal children. Furthermore, the foundation of objective criteria for the analysis of age representation of children in red-figure requires the examination of the social status of, and attitudes towards, young people in fifth century Athenian society.¹ No art is created free of its social context, and even when the red-figure artist depicted divine and heroic children, who by their natures differed considerably from mortal offspring, the painter's

visual blueprint was of necessity the human child. There are, as I shall show, subtle differences between the depiction of mythological and mortal children, differences which reflect the divergent natures of the divine, the heroic and the simply human, but essentially we are dealing with the same "raw" iconographic material in the child figure, mythological or mortal. As I have stated above, the thesis examines the red-figure iconography of the mythological child as a starting point for the objective interpretation of age representation because the pictorial context is often clear from a study of contemporary literary sources, a context not afforded us by the ancient sources with regard to children in scenes of everyday life. But since the iconographies of mythological and of genre scenes of childhood are interdependent we must begin here with a brief examination of the limited evidence which we possess for defining the scope and limits of childhood in fifth century Athens, and consider its ramifications for the representation of the child figure. Though limitations of time and space permit me only cursory observations on scenes of everyday life, I would like to stress that I regard my work here as an essential foundation for future research in this broader sphere of the red-figure representation of childlife in fifth century Athens.

Childhood in classical Athens naturally comprised all phases of the growing years from birth through school age, but its upper limits seem to have been ambiguous and variously imposed.² For example, the onset of puberty was

considered to take place at age thirteen or fourteen,³ and age sixteen marked another stage in the transition from boyhood to manhood, when the hair was cut in the sacrifice of the "koureion" and the male was admitted to the phratry.⁴ But it was not until he was in his eighteenth year that he was admitted to the deme, citizen status was conferred on him and a youth officially became an adult.⁵ Also around his eighteenth year, the young Athenian became an ephebe and began a two-year period of military training: not until he had completed this does he seem to have been considered to be truly a man.⁶ Thus, although the "official" end of childhood was apparently reached in the Athenian male's eighteenth year, the years between the ages of about sixteen and twenty seem, nevertheless, to have constituted a phase of liminal social status, when the youth was considered to be truly neither child nor man. This is perhaps best illustrated by the position of the ephebe who, posted to the outlying districts of Attica, was in effect excluded from normal society, and as wearer of the black chlamys was encouraged to behave in an otherwise unacceptable anti-social fashion, before he could be wholly accepted into Athenian adult male society.⁷

In classical Athens, of course, there was no equality in the treatment of male and female, and the point at which a girl became a woman was dependent on different, and even less well documented, criteria than those established for the transition from boyhood to manhood. Her transition was perhaps in theory, if not in practice, a simpler and more

straightforward one for it depended not on the girl herself but on her connection with a man; a girl became a woman when she married and produced her first child.⁸ The age at which this happened seems to have varied, though age fourteen to fifteen seems to have been common. The husband and father had already, often years before, attained the status of a man and so was considerably older than his spouse, for it was only through his manhood that she could attain her womanhood.⁹

How then can we apply this theoretical definition of childhood to the pictorial record? Those figures who are represented as babies or young children present few difficulties, but the older youth or "adolescent" figure does pose problems of interpretation, which are as real in an analysis of the representation of mythological children as they are in a study of mortal offspring: Triptolemos, Herakles, Theseus, Troilos, Ganymede and Tithonos are all youthful "adolescent" figures, the reading of whose iconography in terms of their life stage presents a challenge. These problems of interpretation cannot be solved by subjective visual judgements because our twentieth century visual appraisal of an image is conditioned by factors different from those of a fifth century viewer. What then are the objective criteria which we can bring to bear when attempting to decode the iconography of age representation employed by the red-figure vase-painters to depict young people?

1. Size, height and bodily forms

These can be "read" with caution as a clue to the age or life stage of a youthful figure, but should never be used as the sole determining factor. Often a child is depicted as a figure smaller than his or her adult companions, but it does not follow that figures of reduced stature are always children: a good example of this can be seen on the Foundry Painter's name vase where two bearded men finishing a statue are depicted half the size of two male onlookers, presumably to emphasise the grand scale of the sculpture.¹⁰ Furthermore, not only age but also social status often had a bearing on the depiction of individual figures, and Himmelmann has turned his attention to the problem of interpretation of slave figures, who often in classical art are shown on a smaller scale than their masters and mistresses.¹¹

Particular caution must be exercised where mortals or heroes are shown in divine company, since the greater stature sometimes accorded to the divine figure(s) is a device intended to stress his or her power and "otherness" in relation to the mortal or hero, and does not necessarily imply that the latter is a juvenile figure.¹²

Conversely, simply because a youthful figure is represented as equal in stature to his or her adult companions it does not always follow that he or she has already attained manhood or womanhood. The schoolboy Herakles and his companions, for example, are often depicted as equal in stature to their teacher Linos (71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78), and the boy Ganymede, fleeing with his toys of hoop and stick,

may be of equal stature to Zeus. (129, 134)

The depiction of bodily physique and musculature must be treated with similar caution. It is true that the common depiction of children as miniature adults in black- and earlier red-figure undergoes a development over the course of the fifth century: increasing skills of draughtsmanship and closer observation of the human form result in a growing naturalism of representation, including that of children. However, this development is not sufficiently consistent or homogenous to allow us to interpret age on purely visual judgement. This growing naturalism in the depiction of the child figure is a development which will be traced in the thesis.

For the female figure, the possession of breasts can be taken as an indication of womanhood, or at least of puberty.

2. Hair length, facial and pubic hair

Children and adolescent males are always clean shaven: the beard is a mark of manhood. Therefore if a small figure is bearded he cannot be a child and there must be some other explanation for his diminutive stature: take, for example, the two small bearded figures on the above-mentioned cup by the Foundry Painter. (n 10) Also, adult satyrs in the presence of Dionysos are frequently shown as small bearded figures. (see, for example, n 12.iii & iv)

However, we are sometimes given a clue to the adolescent life stage of a young male figure through the appearance of

downy "fluff" on the cheeks as, for example, by Onesimos in his representation of the young Theseus on the exterior of a cup in the Louvre. (see ch 3, p 217 & n 163)

Hair length is a far more complicated issue. We know that a male's hair was cut at age sixteen in the ceremony of the "koureotis". Yet when we turn to red-figure vases we find that whilst the hair of infants and young boys is usually short, that of older boys and adolescents seems to be shown indiscriminately long or short.¹³ Consequently, hair length is not a reliable iconographic criterion to use in determining age.

Generally in those red-figure vase-paintings which attain a reasonable level of artistic merit, with attention paid to small details of representation, an adult male is endowed with a darkened growth of pubic hair whilst a male child's pubic area is left unshaded. However, older boys who have reached puberty may also be given pubic hair: see, for example, Dryas on 181. As in the case of bodily stature and physique, pubic growth or the lack of it can therefore be used as a clue when attempting to decipher the age or life stage of a male youth: it cannot, however, be cited as conclusive proof of his boyhood or manhood since not all vase-painters give their adult male figures a darkened pubic region - the adult bearded Herakles is a good illustration of this. (see p 198 and n 134)

3. Attributes

Attributes may be a useful indication of a youthful or adolescent figure's status. A youth still at play with his

or her toys, such as Ganymede with hoop and stick (133, 134, 140, 144), is clearly still a child, as is the youth surrounded by the paraphernalia of the schoolroom - writing tablet, stylus and so on - such as the young Herakles. (72, 74, 76, 78) However, a youth carrying spears, a sword or other weapons has obviously passed from childhood to the next stage of his life and though, as I have outlined above, the ephebic phase seems to have constituted a liminal adolescent stage which was considered to be neither childhood nor manhood, this^{question} lies beyond the limits of this particular enquiry. However, in the case of heroic children there are very occasional exceptions to this rule; for example, the baby Apollo may wield bow and arrow against Python (36), and the infant Achilles is sometimes shown carrying a diminutive hunting sword or spears in the company of the centaur Chiron, from whom he will learn the art of hunting. (ch 4, p 273. xv, xvi, xvii, xx)

4. Dress

In the case of female children, attire also provides a clue to age or life stage. To depict as naked a goddess, heroine or respectable woman was well-nigh unthinkable to fifth century Athenian society, though this attitude changed in the fourth century, with the work of artists such as Praxiteles.¹⁴ A naked female in fifth century red-figure therefore indicates a pre-pubescent girl, a woman in mortal distress, or an adolescent girl or woman of dubious morals and lifestyle.

Female children in red-figure are often also clothed, but

not appropriate to girlhood status are such forms of dress as the veil, a symbol of wifely modesty.

Thus, physical stature and bodily physique and the possession of particular attributes are objective criteria which we can apply to the examination of the older youth or adolescent figure of both sexes in our attempts to determine more closely his or her approximate age or life stage. Additional clues to the interpretation of the young male figure include body and facial hair, whilst for the youthful female figure dress may provide a further indication of age-related status.

In order to examine the evidence for the iconography of mythological children in Attic red-figure, I have divided the material into two sections; one concentrating on the birth and childhood of the gods and the other on that of the heroes. The first section on divine children is split into two chapters, one on the most commonly represented infant god, Dionysos, and a second devoted to the remainder of the gods who are depicted as children. The second section on heroic youth comprises a chapter each on Attic and non-Attic heroes, and a further chapter considers representations of mythological female children.

While I concentrate on Attic red-figure of the fifth century BC, I do, however, also review what both preceded and followed this in black- and red figure of the sixth century and in red-figure of the fourth century. I have

attempted to present an exhaustive catalogue of all assured, or fairly certain, representations of mythological children on red-figure pots, including a number of unpublished or previously unrecognised scenes. I also include white-ground vases which depict relevant childhood subjects. The catalogue, which comprises one hundred and ninety six entries, does not however include vase-paintings whose childhood subjects may be drawn either from mythology or from everyday life: thus, for example, I list only those illustrations of a boy pursued by a man where the figures can with confidence be identified as Zeus and Ganymede. Nor do I catalogue representations of those youthful figures whose iconography I discuss in the text but about whose life stage I remain uncertain and am able to draw no conclusions: these include Tithonos and Triptolemos.

NOTES

1. On the social status of, and attitudes towards, young people see M Golden Children & Childhood in Classical Athens (1990), 1-12; AntCl 54 (1985), 91-104.

2. For the classical Athenian vocabulary for childhood and its division into stages see Golden op cit 12-22, 67-72; R Garland The Greek Way of Life (1990), 1-6; NB Crowther Phoenix 42 (1988), 304-8; P Frisch ZPE 75 (1988), 179-85; AW Johnston BSA 82 (1987), 125-9; G Wattendorf Die Bezeichnungen der Altersstufen bei den Griechen (1922).

3. For the evidence regarding the onset of puberty see Garland op cit 167-8; Golden op cit 28 & n 20; E Eyben Latomus 31 (1972), 677-97; T Hopfner Das Sexualleben der Griechen & Römer I (1938), 228-9.

4. On the sacrifice of the "koureion" and admission to the phratry see Garland op cit 179-80; Golden op cit 26-9 & n 16; SG Cole ZPE 55 (1984), 233-44; J Labarbe Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique: Classe des lettres 39 (1953), 358-394.

5. On the age of majority see Garland op cit 180-83; Golden op cit 38-40; Phoenix 33 (1979), 25-38; JM Carter BICS 14 (1967), 51-7; R Sealey CR ns 7 (1957), 195-7.

6. Although there is evidence for the existence of the Athenian ephebate only from the fourth century onwards, there was undoubtedly a fifth century equivalent. On the ephebeia and the date of its institution see Garland op cit 183-87; P Vidal-Naquet in RL Gordon, ed Myth, Religion & Society (1981), 147-62, & n 1 for further bibliography; Ch Pélékidis Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant J-C, Ec Fr Ath, Travaux et Memoires 13 (1962) - with full bibliography; DW Reinmuth The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century BC (1971), 123-38; TAPhA 83 (1952), 34-50; P Roussel REG 34 (1921), 459-60; A Brenot Recherches sur l'éphébie attique en particulier sur la date de l'institution (1920).

7. See further Vidal-Naquet loc cit 172-85; The Black Hunter (1986). A limited parallel can perhaps be drawn with today's British society where a young person between the ages of sixteen and eighteen finds himself/herself in a similar social limbo: he/she can leave school, can marry with parental consent or can join the army at age sixteen, but is only enfranchised and given complete control of his/her own life at eighteen.

8. On marriage and the transition from girlhood to womanhood, and on the equation between marriage and death, see chapter 5, p 439 & n 19. On the parallel equation between the ephebeia and death - the transformation from one state to another - see chapter 4, n 220.

9. For the evidence regarding age at marriage see Garland op cit 210-13; Golden op cit 98 & n 82.

10. Cup, Berlin, Staatl Mus 2294, Foundry Painter, ca 480. ARV 400.1: Para 370: Add 230.

11.N Himmelmann Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei (1971)

12.See, for example:

- i.Kalyx-krater, Caltagirone, Mus Reg 961, ca 440. H Rühfel Kinderleben im klassischen Athen (1984), 71 fig 42. Athena is depicted on a larger scale than the potter & his young apprentice.
- ii.Volute-krater, Ferrara 2897/VT T128, Group of Polygnotos, ca 440. ARV 1052.25: Para 444: Add 322. The seated divine pair (Sabazios and Kybele?) are shown on a larger scale than the priestess and assembled worshippers.
- iii.Bell-krater, Syracuse, Mus Naz 23508, Painter of the Woolly Satyrs ARV 613.6: Para 397: Add 269. Dionysos is shown as a figure larger than his attendant satyrs.
- iv.Cup, Brussels, Mus Royaux R247, Makron. ARV 462.41, 481: Para 377. Large Dionysos figure, with small bearded satyr.

13.For infants and young children with short hair see, for example: mythological children-catalogue nos 11 (Dionysos), 49 (Erichthonios), 91 (Perseus).

mortal children-lekythos, Berlin, Staatl Mus F2209, first half fifth century. ARV 1587.2 (top).

-kalpis, Baltimore-Robinson Coll, ca 430. CVA Robinson 2 pl 43.

For older boys and adolescents with long hair see, for example:

mythological youths-catalogue no 126 (Ganymede), ch 3 n 66 (Triptolemos), ch 4 n 111.i & iii (Tithonos).

mortal youths-cup (tondo), New York market, once Hunt Collections, Proto-Panaitian Group, ca 510-500. Sotheby's sale catalogue, New York 19.6.90: D von Bothmer et al Wealth of the Ancient World (1983), no 8, pl at p 11.

-cup (tondo), Oxford, Ashmolean 1886.587 (V300), Colmar Painter, ca 500. ARV 357.69: Para 363: Add 221.

For older boys and adolescents with short hair see, for example:

mythological youths-catalogue no 139 (Ganymede), ch 3 n 76 (Triptolemos), ch 4 n 105 (Tithonos).

mortal boys-cup (tondo), Berlin, Staatl Mus F2291, Makron, ca 490. ARV 459.4: Para 377: Add 244.

-oinochoe, Harrow 56, Painter of the Harrow Oinochoe. ARV 276.76: Add 207.

14.However, see N Himmelmann Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst, JdI Suppl 26 (1990), 48 & fig 18 for a silver medallion of ca 420, showing the almost completely naked Aphrodite rising from the waves.

PART ONE

DIVINE CHILDREN

Chapter One

Dionysos

The divine child most frequently represented in Attic red-figure is Dionysos¹. Preserved Attic black-figure is devoid of any representations of his birth and childhood, although it has been suggested that a small black-figure neck-amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles - the name vase of the Diosphos Painter - shows the infant Dionysos perched on Zeus' knee. On closer examination, however, the child seems more likely to be Hephaistos.² In Attic red-figure of the fifth century this situation is reversed, and there are some twenty-five depictions of Dionysos' birth and childhood: from the fourth century we have five more significant representations of the subject.

The ancient literary sources tell how Zeus' union with the mortal woman Semele incited the anger of jealous Hera. The goddess therefore tricked the pregnant woman into requesting Zeus to appear to her in his full godhead, but being a mere mortal Semele could not withstand such a revelation and was consumed by Zeus' lightning. Zeus, however, snatching the unborn child from Semele's womb, sewed him into his own thigh, until the time should be ripe for the child's birth. After the birth, the literary sources tell us variously that the infant Dionysos was entrusted to Hermes, to the nymphs of Nysa or to Athamas and Ino.³

Red-figure representations of the birth and childhood of Dionysos can be broken down into eight compositional types:

1. The first birth of Dionysos from Semele.
2. The second birth of Dionysos from Zeus' thigh.
3. The infant Dionysos entrusted by Zeus to the nymphs of Nysa.
4. The infant Dionysos delivered by Hermes to the nymphs of Nysa.
5. The infant Dionysos delivered by Hermes to a silen.
6. The infant Dionysos entrusted by Hermes to the care of Papposilenos.
7. The infant Dionysos committed by Hermes to the care of Athamas and Ino.
8. The infant Dionysos tended by nymphs/maenads and silenoi/satyrs.

There are, in addition, two further categories of associated representations, which treat the birth and childhood of Dionysos in his manifestations as Dionysos-Zagreus and Dionysos-Iakchos. These are discussed at a later stage in the chapter. (see p 60-67)

The most popular vase shapes chosen as a ground for depicting the myth are kraters, particularly bell- and kalyx kraters. Also much favoured are pelikai, and to a lesser extent hydriai. Both hydriai and kraters provided a large expanse for narrative story telling, and permitted a larger number of figures to be depicted, although many of the vase-painters confined themselves to three or four key figures in telling this tale. Both shapes would be in use at the symposion, and for that the epiphany of the wine god would be singularly appropriate. Artists decorating the smaller

field of the pelike with images of Dionysos' childhood limited themselves to two or three key figures, apart from one very full fourth century composition. (28)

The untimely birth of Dionysos from Semele is shown once only in Attic red-figure on a late fifth century kalpis in Berkeley by the Semele Painter. (1) (PL 1a) This unique kalpis, painted in the last years of the fifth century, is completely covered with figures - thirteen in total - and, like many vase-paintings of the second half of the fifth century, the narrative here does not concentrate on only one moment of time. Here, we have representatives from each stage of the story: in the centre the doomed mortal mother, Semele, sleeps whilst the father, Zeus, is seated above as his thunderbolt flies through the air to consume poor Semele. To right, jealous Hera stands by watching, having commanded her envoy, Iris, to take and destroy the child. Stealthily, Iris creeps forward. To left, however, the other messenger of the gods, Hermes, here acting on behalf of Zeus, has already snatched up the child, and bears him to safety to Zeus, in whose thigh he will be sewn until, in the fullness of time, he will emerge at his second birth. Before Hermes stands another woman, probably, to judge by the ivy wreath adorning her hair, a nymph of Nysa, representing yet another phase in the story, for it is to the nymphs of Nysa that Zeus will send, or will himself carry, the little Dionysos after his thigh birth. Under the handles a silen plays with a dog. Little Dionysos, the figure unfortunately incomplete, perches in very non-neonate

fashion on the left hand of Hermes: the child is dressed in long chiton and himation, his head wreathed, and he bears in his hands a vine branch. Iris, Hera, two little Erotes, two attendant female figures bearing caskets, and the woman seated to left of Dionysos and perhaps best interpreted as Aphrodite since she is accompanied by one of the Erotes, are characters who, with the possible exception of Hera on 7, appear nowhere else on Attic vases showing the birth and infancy of Dionysos, son of Semele. That the artist is well acquainted with the mythological story behind his picture is evident. However, in including these figures who are relevant to the story, but who are not essential to the pictorial narrative, the Semele Painter would seem to be taking advantage of artistic licence to enlarge upon the story, to "ad-lib", as it were, using his own imagination. This, of course, at a time when enlarged "casts" had become commonplace in red-figure.

Rescued from the body of Semele and sewn into Zeus' thigh, the time eventually came for Dionysos' second birth. The actual birth is shown on two red-figure vases: a krater fragment of about 425 by the Painter of the Athens Dinos, (2) (PL 1b) and a lekythos decorated by the Alkimachos Painter about 460. (3) (PL 2a) In both scenes the child is shown emerging from Zeus' thigh, but the picture composition and mood differ considerably from one vase to the other. The Alkimachos Painter's lekythos shows Zeus naked and bearded, his long hair wreathed, seated on a rock, stooping slightly forwards and concentrating intently as he eases the

child from his thigh with both hands. So far, only the upper part of the head of the child has emerged, already wreathed. The child's head is angled upwards in the direction of his father's face, and the father returns the son's look, gazing down upon his progeny: thus is created a very direct and intimate relationship between the two. And although Hermes is also present and looks on whilst holding Zeus' sceptre, it remains a very intimate scene: Hermes, in fact, has half-turned away - perhaps watching for Hera - and seems scarcely part of the scene, a mere onlooker. The later picture on the krater fragment by the Painter of the Athens Dinos is quite different; Zeus is again naked, but this time seems almost unconcerned about the proceedings, leaning slightly backwards, and grasping a staff or sceptre in his left hand. The child has emerged further on this vase and is visible down to his hips. His back is turned to his father, showing him no recognition, and instead he stretches out his arms to some figure before them. This figure holds a patterned nebris, into which the child is about to be received: this is an iconographic motif we shall see used frequently, and earlier than here, in scenes of the birth of Erichthonios. (44, 47, 49, 52) Only in these two scenes of the thigh birth does Zeus shed his mantle to appear naked: elsewhere when he is depicted in connection with the infant Dionysos he is more than adequately clothed.

A pelike painted about 440 by the Nausikaa Painter presents us with a moment soon after Dionysos' birth. (4) (PL 2b) Zeus, dressed in chiton and himation, is seated on

his throne, his head bowed as if from the exertion of childbirth. His sceptre, held in his right hand, rests against his shoulder. On his knee stands the naked little Dionysos. Zeus supports him by holding the child's right knee with his left hand, and Dionysos gazes down on him: these two points of contact again create an intimate relationship between father and son. This motif of a child standing on the knee of a seated adult, to denote either parentage or adoption, is not new, and several black- and red-figure examples of Athena standing on her father Zeus' knee can be cited.⁴ The little wine god is wreathed, and clutches kantharos in right hand and vine branch in left. Standing close by, and gazing at the group of man with child, is a young woman. She wears an ivy wreath in her hair, and carries a second wreath in her hands, presumably to adorn father or son. Perhaps she may be a nymph, to whom later Zeus will entrust his son for safe-keeping. Note the similarity of the Zeus figures on the Nausikaa Painter's pelike and the Alkimachos Painter's lekythos: although the former is draped and the latter naked, and although one is still in the process of giving birth whilst the other supports the new-born child on his lap, both maintain a slightly forward-stooped, weary pose, with bowed head. Note, too, the likeness between the Hermes and nymph figures, in so far as they are both presented frontally with head turned in profile to left to regard the proceedings.

A bell-krater of about 475-70 by the Altamura Painter (170), like the Nausikaa Painter's pelike, also presents a

naked boy clutching kantharos and branch and standing on the knee of a seated figure. This may also possibly represent Zeus with the infant Dionysos shortly after the moment of birth. However, since the seated figure holds a thyrsos and rests on a fawn-skin covered chair, this is more likely to be Dionysos with the infant Oinopion and I discuss this vase further in chapter four. (see p 342-3) (PL 100a)

A column-krater painted about 470 by the Kephalos Painter or an artist near to him, probably presents us with our earliest surviving vase-painting of the infant Dionysos' birth, or a moment soon thereafter. (5) (PL 3a) The very fragmentary picture shows a figure seated to right on a magnificent and be-cushioned throne, which has a two-tiered arm-rest springing from volutes above the palmette-decorated chair legs, and a lion between rosettes decorating the side of the seat itself. Zeus is likely to be the occupant of such a magnificent throne, and can be seen seated on a similar throne on the Birth of Athena Painter's name-piece.⁵ Our seated figure, of whom only the legs and middle portion of the body survive, wears a chiton and himation. His right arm, crossing in front of his body, apparently held a child, for two little legs dangle below the arm: the child is not seated on his lap, nor does he stand. In front of the throne there are traces of a vertical line, which may well be the remains of the seated figure's sceptre, held in his other hand: in similar fashion, we shall see the seated Telephos clutching the infant Orestes to him with one hand whilst holding his spear in the other on a pelike painted

about 450 by an artist near the Chicago Painter. (173) (PL 102a) Behind our seated figure with child on the column-krater stands a woman in chiton and himation. Graef and Langlotz (see cat entry) make mention of traces of an Athena figure. Athena's presence could permit a possible alternative identification of the scene as the enthroned Hera suckling the infant Herakles (see ch 3, p 188-9), but my examination of the vase in the Athens National Museum revealed no traces whatsoever of an attendant Athena figure. The most likely interpretation of our pelike is therefore Zeus with the infant Dionysos.

On four, and probably five, extant vases, we see Zeus entrusting his infant son to the nymphs of Nysa, in whose care he will be safe from the wrath of Hera. The theme is apparently introduced to vase-painting in the Late Archaic period and continues in use into the Early Classical. The composition of the scenes on the Louvre stamnos of about 470-60 by the Painter of the Florence Stamnoi (6) (PL 3b), the Cabinet des Médailles kalpis of about 480-70 by the Syleus Painter (7) (PL 4a), and the volute-krater in Ferrara of about 470-60 by the Altamura Painter (8) (PLS 4b & 5) is similar in that it comprises Zeus, the Dionysos child and two or three female figures. The Painter of the Florence Stamnoi depicts the naked little Dionysos in the arms of a nymph, stretching out an arm to his regal father. The group stands before an Ionic building, complete with column and architrave, in which sits a maenad with thyrsos, ivy branch and phiale. The Syleus Painter also includes an Aeolic

column in his scene, probably indicating an indoor setting: here the little Dionysos is fully clothed and is held by Zeus. He stretches out his hand to a seated nymph, who is probably about to receive him from his father. Behind the seated nymph, a second woman moves off to left, looking back over her shoulder at the central group. Her identity is somewhat confused, for whilst her ivy-wreathed head implies that she is a second nymph, she appears to carry a sceptre identical to that held by Zeus and thus may perhaps be Hera. The Altamura Painter presents us with a central group of the semi-naked infant Dionysos, his lower body draped in a mantle or himation, held in the arms of a nymph and holding out a kantharos to Zeus. To each side stands a female onlooker; to right probably a second nymph clutches stylised shoots, and to left stands a maenad with spotted panther, the latter being a motif which occurs only one further time (25) in extant birth and childhood scenes of Dionysos. The Altamura Painter's nymphs thus not only undertake the maternal nursing role assigned to them whilst Dionysos is still a child, but also look forward to their orgiastic Bacchic role as maenads.

A neck-amphora of about 490-80 by the Eucharides Painter (9) (PL 6) presents the narrative in a different fashion. The obverse of the vase shows Zeus hurrying to right, holding in his arms the swaddled and wreathed Dionysos child. Father and son gaze into each other's face, thus generating a very intimate atmosphere. In addition, Zeus has laid his sceptre to one side: here he is more

father than divine king. The reverse of the vase reveals their destination; a wreathed woman, most probably a nymph of Nysa, is shown holding a lyre. The writing tablet suspended from the wall behind her most likely makes reference to the education and upbringing that Dionysos will receive in the care of the nymphs.

A fine but fragmentary cup of about 480, or shortly thereafter, by Makron probably also treats the delivery of the infant Dionysos by Zeus to the nymphs. (10) Here, however, the composition is expanded greatly to comprise a much larger number of figures, and takes on a processional appearance. The main side of the cup (PL 7a) presents us with a cortège of deities, who move right towards an altar, where two women are preparing libation and sacrifice. The pediment of the altar is decorated with the figures of a goat and two kids, animals well-suited to the cult of Dionysos. Beyond the altar is the landscaped setting of a grove of trees. First in the procession comes Hermes, herald of the gods. He is followed by Zeus, bearing in his arms a very alert, draped, curly-haired boy Dionysos, who carries a fruit-laden vine branch in his hand. Next comes Poseidon with trident, and behind him, bringing up the rear on this side of the cup, is Athena. The procession towards the altar continues on the other, very fragmentary, side of the vessel, just beyond the trees at the handle, (PL 7b) where it is possible to identify a goddess with sceptre (Amphitrite?), turning back her head to look at the female figure behind her who carries a dolphin (Nereid?). Then

come three further figures, of whom only the lower half is preserved: the middle one of these carries a vine branch. There may also have been other figures.

Might this divine procession be added to our catalogue of scenes depicting the infant Dionysos brought to his nurses, the nymphs of Nysa? Perhaps a point in favour of this interpretation is the possibly rural setting which may be intended by the grove of trees and the rock behind them, since we know that Nysa was "a mountain most high and richly grown with woods" (Homeric Hymn 1 to Dionysos, 8): though, as we have seen above, the Painter of the Florence Stamnoi (6) and the Syleus Painter (7) depict the nymphs in an architectural, rather than a natural, setting. However, those to whom the child is brought - the two women sacrificing at the altar - are in no way distinguished as nymphs or maenads by any Dionysiac attributes, such as thyrsos, vine branch or wreath, or panther, as they often are elsewhere in such scenes, and nowhere else do we see the nymphs sacrificing at an altar. Furthermore, certain of the characters who constitute the procession are either unusual or even unique in such a scene. Hermes and Dionysos are, of course, canonical: Athena's presence, however, is very unusual in scenes of the birth and childhood of Dionysos. She appears again on a pelike in the Hermitage (28) (PL 19b) in a scene which depicts the birth of Dionysos Zagreus. But apart from this rather different case, Athena figures nowhere else in representations of the childhood of Dionysos. Poseidon and (?)Amphitrite appear together with

the infant wine god only on this vase. Perhaps this scene may therefore depict not so much the presentation of Dionysos by Zeus to the nymphs of Nysa, but rather the introduction and acceptance of the recently arrived god, Dionysos, into the Attic pantheon by the older, already established deities, the sacrifice by women - always Dionysos' companions - signifying their acceptance of his cult. On the other hand, Euripides in the Bacchae (288-90) tells us that Zeus saved Dionysos from the thunderbolt that consumed Semele and took the child up to Olympos as a god: perhaps, then, we here see the arrival of the pair on Olympos, with a welcome sacrifice being offered to the little god.

At the beginning of this century, August Frickenhaus initiated a controversy by discussing the vase representations he believed to reflect Dionysiac Lenaia celebrations, and numbered Makron's cup among them.⁶ This I believe to be a faulty interpretation of our scene. In both black- and red-figure there is indeed a series of vases which show celebration by dancing and sacrifice on the part of maenadic women before a mask of Dionysos set upon a column or pillar. These would seem to reflect a particular Dionysiac festival and, rightly or wrongly, Frickenhaus specified the Lenaia, the celebration of the epiphany of the wine god. On all these vases, however, the god is personified in inanimate fashion as a masked and draped column\pillar, and the celebrants can be interpreted as mortals. The Akropolis cup, however, does not fit this

pattern: the infant god himself appears in the flesh, and the celebrants are divine characters.

We should note, however, a second cup by Makron which was dedicated on the Akropolis and which bears a similar scene of the presentation of a child in a divine procession. (109) (PL 67b) The infant this time is Achilles, and the cortège of deities witnessing the delivery of the boy to Chiron includes characters who are unique to scenes of the childhood of Achilles. It would seem therefore that Makron employed the same basic iconographic schema of the presentation of a divine or heroic child in a divine gathering for both Dionysos and Achilles, and I think we need look for no deeper significance than a straightforward reading of both scenes provides: Zeus, witnessed by others of the Olympian pantheon, approaches with Hermes to commit his son to the care of the nymphs, who prepare a sacrifice in welcome.

A sixth vase, an amphora of about 475-70 in Bologna, may possibly also depict Zeus entrusting the infant Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa. (171) (PL 101) The scene shows a woman holding a child before a standing man, in very similar fashion to the same group of figures on the stamnos by the Painter of the Florence Stamnos (6) and on the Altamura Painter's volute-krater. (8) However, since the man wears an ivy wreath and holds a thyrsos, the scene more probably represents Dionysos and the infant Oinopion, and I shall therefore discuss the vase in greater detail in chapter four. (see p 343-4)

Images of Zeus entrusting Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa thus enjoyed some degree of popularity in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods. Beginning in the Early Classical and continuing into the Classical period are depictions of Hermes, rather than Zeus, delivering the child to his nurses. The two earliest preserved vases with this theme very interestingly show an almost identical scene. Both were painted about 460-50 by the Villa Giulia Painter. The vase shapes used vary slightly: one is a bell-krater in the British Museum (11) (PL 8a), the other a kalyx-krater in Moscow (12) (PL 8b), but both show Hermes in the centre seated on a rock, facing to right and holding the infant Dionysos. To either side is a nymph or maenad. The central group of Hermes and child is virtually identical on both vases; only the border decoration of Hermes' cloak and the position of his right foot differ. The figures of the maenads display some differences: on the London vase the figure standing before Hermes clutches a thyrsos, and the woman placed to left holds a branch and rests her right foot on a pillar. On the Moscow example, the woman before Hermes holds out her hands ready to take the child and the nymph behind grasps a thyrsos in one hand, whilst resting the other on her hip: she presents more or less a mirror image of the figure clutching a thyrsos on the London vase. The scenes decorating the reverse of these vases are, however, very different: the British Museum vase shows athlete and trainers, whilst the vessel in the Pushkin Museum bears a scene of an old king and two women running.

Both vases come from Nola, and several interesting, though probably unanswerable, questions arise. The draughtsmanship of both scenes is very fine, and we may speculate whether the kraters and their decoration might have been commissioned by customers. Alternatively, it may simply have been that the artist, noting what a suitable subject for a mixing bowl was the infancy of the wine god, and pleased with his composition, had decorated two, or perhaps more, vessels with very similar scenes, varying only the secondary picture on the reverse. Certainly, the Villa Giulia Painter, judging by extant vases, seems to have been the artist who most favoured scenes of the birth and childhood of Dionysos: a third representation by his hand on a kalpis in the Metropolitan Museum in New York shows the child carried by a satyr and flanked by two maenads (13) (PL 16b) and a fourth vase, in the Villa Giulia Museum, shows Hermes entrusting Dionysos to a satyr. (17) (PL 11b) Again the New York vase comes from Nola. Since only four of the Villa Giulia Painter's 109 vases listed in ARV are known to come from Nola, and three of these four pots are decorated with scenes from the childhood of Dionysos, is it possible that the Villa Giulia Painter's vases depicting the infant Dionysos were commissioned or bought with the market of Nola in mind? In view both of the amount of pottery that went to Etruria from Athens and of the random nature of our preserved corpus of Attic vases, this however must remain a tantalising but unanswered question.

A follower of the Villa Giulia Painter, the Chicago



Painter, also painted a scene of Hermes handing over the Dionysos child to a nymph. (14) (PL 9) It is very simple and symmetrical in composition, yet striking in its serene monumentality, a very carefully painted vase. A fourth vase illustrating the theme, a pelike of about 450 by the Barclay Painter, also displays a simple three-figured composition of Hermes holding the child and approaching a nymph, (15) (PLS 10 & 11a) although the sober formality of the Chicago Painter's picture is not repeated in the less careful work of the Barclay Painter.

A red-figure vase which was once part of the first Hamilton Collection, but has now disappeared, most likely presents us with another scene of Hermes entrusting the Dionysos child to the nymphs. (16) (PL 12) It was published by both Inghirami and d'Hancarville, but was not acquired along with the rest of the first Hamilton Collection by the British Museum.⁸ The scene decorating the vase shows in the centre a woman with breast bared, seated on a rock, and holding in her arms a small figure clad in chiton and himation, on whom she gazes intently. In front of her stands Hermes dressed in a short tunic, with chlamys and petasos looped around his shoulders to fall down his back. His left hand rests on his hip and in his right hand is the kerykeion. His head is bent slightly forwards as he focuses full attention on the woman and child before him. To left, a second female figure stands and holds out a leafy branch over the head of the seated woman. The style of the figured decoration seems to be Attic, but the iconography of the

scene, if it is indeed Hermes committing Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa, is unusual: all the other extant Attic red-figure illustrations of this subject depict the infant god in the arms of Hermes, while the nymphs stand by ready to receive him. Here, however, the roles are reversed - Hermes stands by looking on, whilst the child is held by a nymph seated on a rock (-compare particularly the London bell-krater (11) and the Moscow kalvx-krater (12) by the Villa Giulia Painter). Another unique feature is that the nymph who holds the child has bared her breasts as if she will suckle him. The representation is devoid of any definitive Dionysiac attributes which would certainly confirm its interpretation as Hermes entrusting the infant Dionysos to the nymphs. Consequently, I shall later discuss a possible alternative interpretation of this vase as the infant Apollo in the arms of his mother Leto, while Hermes and Artemis look on (see ch 2, p 94-6). Nevertheless, I think that the vase more likely depicts the infant Dionysos.

In the mid-fifth century a new theme involving the infant Dionysos makes its appearance on red-figure vases: this is Hermes entrusting the babe to a silen or satyr, and it first appears on a pelike by the Villa Giulia Painter. (17) (PL 11b) Perhaps a decade or so later, Hermes is shown placing the child in the care of Papposilenos. This is seen on the superb, well-known white-ground kalyx-krater by the Phiale Painter in the Vatican. (18) (PLS 13b & 14) The subject is repeated on a now missing pelike which was illustrated by Stackelberg and discussed by Furtwängler and

Reichhold, at which time it was in the private collection of J. Foster at Liverpool. (19) (PL 13a) The introduction of these themes into red-figure can most probably be attributed to the influence of Sophokles' satyr play, the Dionysiskos, in which the little Dionysos is reared by Papposilenos and invents the gift of wine.⁹

Although the figure of Papposilenos on the Phiale Painter's krater and the lost pelike is substituted by a younger bearded satyr on the Villa Giulia pelike, all three of these vases show similarity of composition. On all three, the silen figure sits on a rock, one foot raised and supported on a lower outcrop of rock, the other foot placed lightly on the ground. A thyrsos rests against his shoulder. Hermes approaches, dressed in chiton and chlamys, winged boots and winged hat, carrying in his arms the Dionysos child and his kerykeion, his head reverently bowed. The child is wrapped in a mantle, and turns to gaze at the silen figure. The Liverpool and Villa Giulia Painter's vases are particularly close: the silen figure adopts an almost identical stance on both vessels, and Hermes reflects this pose by raising one leg to rest it on the rock before him. The composition is completed on both by the addition of a nymph/maenad standing behind the satyr/Papposilenos.

A similar group of Hermes raising one leg to rest it on a rock and holding the infant Dionysos in his arms to present the child to a figure in front of him is seen on an Attic votive relief found in the Athenian Agora.¹⁰ The

picture context here is different from that on our vases, for Hermes delivers the child to a nymph rather than a silen/Papposilenos, whilst Demeter, Apollo, Artemis. Zeus, Pan and further nymphs look on. The relief is, furthermore, a century or so later in date than our vases. However, the fifth century vase-paintings are highly unlikely to have influenced fourth century relief sculpture, and this group of Hermes and the infant Dionysos must therefore already have been established in plastic or mural art by the mid-fifth century.

The composition of the Phiale Painter's white-ground krater reverses the direction of the figures seen on the Villa Giulia and Stackelberg vases so that Papposilenos sits facing to left: nevertheless, he affects the same pose. The painter has also added a fifth figure - a seated nymph/maenad - and it is this figure, rather than Hermes, who balances the composition by reflecting the pose of Papposilenos with one leg raised and resting on a rock before her.

Although the subject illustrated is a slightly different one, that is the seated Hermes holding the child, flanked by nymphs/maenads, the Villa Giulia Painter also employed the same central compositional element of a figure seated on a rock, one foot raised and supported on a rocky outcrop, and the other leg lowered at an angle towards the ground, head bowed, on his bell-krater in the British Museum (11) and on his kalvx-krater in Moscow. (12) The repetition

of this iconographic element in scenes of the infant Dionysos painted mostly around the mid years of the fifth century is notable.¹¹

In the last quarter of the fifth century the picture type of Hermes carrying the baby Dionysos in the presence of a satyr or old silen changes. An examination of a kalyx-krater in the Louvre, decorated in the Manner of the Dinos Painter, (20) (PL 15a) and a drawing of a pelike, now missing, but earlier in the collection of Prince Reuss at Vienna, (21) (PL 15b) reveals similarities between the two. Both carry a symmetrical composition of Hermes with the child perched on his left arm, and flanked by two Dionysiac characters. On the Louvre vase Hermes moves towards a maenad wearing a fawn skin over her peplos and holding a staff, and behind him is an old silen, also wearing a fawn skin and resting on a staff and who, looking somewhat less distinguished than the silenos on the Liverpool and Vatican vases, may simply be an old silen, rather than Papposilenos himself. On the missing pelike Hermes starts away from the maenad who carries a large basket on her left arm and thrusts a thyrsos towards Hermes and Dionysos, and moves in the direction of a satyr who holds out a horn of plenty. Hermes here is naked except for his petasos and a chlamys draped across his thigh, a degree of nudity unusual for Hermes in scenes of the infant Dionysos. Not only is the general pictorial composition similar on both vases, but also the group of Hermes carrying the child; Hermes starts to left, right hand extended before him, with the baby held

in the crook of his left arm, and turns back his head to look at the child. For his part too, the child, wrapped in a mantle, adopts the same pose on both vases. We can add to these the kalpis by the Semele Painter (1), which also dates to the last years of the fifth century, and also presents a similar group of Hermes and the Dionysos child, though in a different context.

There is an obvious comparison between the group of Hermes and the infant Dionysos on these three late fifth century vases and the statue group of Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos, fashioned by Praxiteles about 340-30 and found at Olympia. However, the striding group of Hermes with the infant Dionysos seen on the vases belongs to a different iconographical tradition than that of the reposeful Praxitelean Hermes and Dionysos, though the latter may well have been influenced by the former type. Of the several statue groups of Hermes and the infant Dionysos which preceded Praxiteles' group, namely those of Kresilas and Polykleitos in the fifth and of Kephisodotos in the fourth century, we know very little, but they all seem to have depicted a stationary, or at most a walking, figure of Hermes with the child.¹² However, the rapidly moving Hermes seen on our vases advancing to left with kerykeion in right hand and turning his head back to look at the infant on his left arm, occurs also on a Greek or Calenian terracotta relief medallion of the late fifth century, and on coins of about 370-60 from Pheneos in Arkadia where the child is inscribed as Arkas. Furthermore, a similar group

appears on a Roman plaster cast taken probably from a metal rhyton of about 400 BC, and the figure of Hermes without the child is seen on a stone relief of the same date in Athens.¹³ The prototype for this group is unlikely to have been a three-dimensional sculpture, due to the rapid motion involved, but whether it was a relief sculpture, a wall-painting or, perhaps more likely, small-scale metalwork in the form of figure-decorated silver and gold vessels is hard to determine.

A vase which stands alone with regard to the version of the myth it represents concerning the childhood of Dionysos, is a fragmentary kalpis by Hermonax in the private collection of Adonis Kyrrou in Athens. (22) (PL 16a) It shows Hermes, dressed in petasos, chlamys and winged boots, a sword at his side, approaching stealthily from right, his kerykeion in his left hand, and holding on the same arm the infant Dionysos. The boy, naked except for a string of amulets round his torso, is unusually depicted in back view. Hermes' mission here takes him to a standing woman and an almost completely lost seated figure holding phiale and sceptre. Behind them are two Doric columns and before them is set a table with two fine kantharoi and a cake. It has been convincingly argued by John Oakley¹⁴ that what we see here is Hermes carrying the infant god to King Athamas and Ino, sister of Semele, whom at Zeus' command he will persuade to rear the child, in order to protect him from the wrath of Hera. Indeed, Hermes' stealthy approach may be designed to bring the child to the couple without Hera's

knowledge, and with his right hand he is perhaps indicating over his shoulder that he brings the boy to them under threat of menace. The fullest accounts of the myth, though late, are given by Apollodoros and Ovid.¹⁵ The vase, however, dates to about 460 and thus long predates these literary sources. Oakley puts forward the persuasive suggestion that Hermonax's picture may well reflect the Athamas(A) of Sophokles, written probably very early in his career around this time.¹⁶ Oakley also points out that Athamas was a local hero in Boiotia and Thessaly and that the vase is said to have been found at Atalanti in Opuntian Lokris, which lies between Boiotia and Thessaly. He suggests that "Since Athamas was a local hero in this area and since red-figure finds from Atalanti are rare, might we speculate that our vase was a special commission or purchase of a local passing through Athens, perhaps one who had seen the Athamas of Sophokles?"

Images of the infant Dionysos tended by silenoi/satyrs and nymphs/maenads appear first in the Early Classical period on a kalpis by the Villa Giulia Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; (13) (FL 16b) here a satyr carries the child towards a seated woman with thyrsoi, for his pains getting his beard tweaked mischievously by the infant, whilst a second nymph looks on. The theme is repeated twice in the Classical period; a krater in Naples by the Klio Painter (23) (PL 17a) reverses the roles, so that it is a nymph/maenad who carries the child to a seated silenos, while two other maenads look on. It is worth

noting that the Klio Painter characterised the seated silen as old by the addition of white paint for his hair and beard, but that this white colour has now peeled off.¹⁷ The second of the two vases from the third quarter of the fifth century showing the infant god in the care of silenoi/satyrs and nymphs/maenads follows a different formula: the vase, now lost, was a kalyx-krater formerly on the Roman market. (24) (PL 17b) It shows a maenad, thyrsos in hand, seated before Papposilenos who, holding the naked, wreathed toddler by both hands, playfully gives him a ride on his foot: a kantharos is oddly suspended above the child. The same motif is used elsewhere: on a bell-krater in Ancona a bearded satyr swings a satyr-child on his foot, and on a vase once in the Hamilton Collection at Naples we see a woman playing the same game with a little Eros boy.¹⁸ The hoary Papposilenos on the lost kalyx-krater can be compared with the Phiale Painter's Papposilenos on the white-ground kalvx-krater in the Vatican Museum. (18) And indeed, on a closer stylistic examination, I believe that the lost vase can be attributed to an artist very close to the Phiale Painter.¹⁹

Still following the theme of the infant Dionysos in the care of satyrs/silenoi and maenads/nymphs, we have a fourth century lekanis lid, now in the Hermitage. (25) (PL 18a) Here, amidst a lively gathering of satyrs and maenads, panther and Pan, a bearded silen hands the little god - wreathed, wrapped in a mantle, carrying a miniature thyrsos - to a maenad seated on a rock. In this setting,

the narrative of the childhood of Dionysos is combined with the wider significance of the god's future role as master of the thiasos. As Metzger comments, our Kerch vase is thus distinct from those fifth century vases representing the infancy of Dionysos: the earlier vase-painters "cherchent à représenter un moment de l'action et à condenser un épisode dans un raccourci dramatique... Sur la lékané de l'Ermitage rien de tel; nous ne vivons plus un moment".²⁰

It is worth pausing here to point out the loose iconographic similarities of some of the figures on the lekanis lid with certain figures seen in later neo-Attic reliefs. The group of satyr moving to right to bring the little Dionysos to a seated maenad on the lekanis lid bears comparison to the group of Hermes bringing the infant Dionysos to a maenad on the Salpion krater and other neo-Attic reliefs, and the red-figure group of maenad with panther is not unlike the group of satyr with panther on another neo-Attic relief in Naples.²¹ As seems to be the case with so many convincingly Classically-inspired neo-Attic reliefs, the prototypes of the Salpion krater and Naples relief are likely to have been Athenian sculptural reliefs of the fourth century BC. If their iconographic influence can be seen as far away as the Crimea, as here on our Kerch style vase, due to the repeated wholesale copying or excerption and copying of figure groups from the reliefs by the vase-painters, then it also seems likely that other of our illustrations of stock themes from the infancy of Dionysos in fifth century vase-painting would have been inspired by now

lost reliefs. The group of Hermes and Dionysos seen on 17 and 19 and discussed above, is another such possible case.

Two other red-figure vases, painted in the last years of the fifth and the early years of the fourth century, also show the infant Dionysos in the care of satyrs and maenads. On a griffin's-head rhyton in Vienna, belonging to the Group of Class W, a seated satyr holds out a bunch of grapes to Dionysos, here depicted as a chubby toddler. (26) (PL 18b) And on an ivy-wreathed chous in the Louvre - a shape which, through its links with the Anthesteria festival, seems most appropriate for the illustration of the infancy of the god - the little Dionysos pushes a walking machine towards a maenad and a tawn. (27) (PL 19a) Here he is depicted in much the same way as the mortal choes children, as a naked chubby toddler with strings of amulets round chest and thigh. In addition to these, a chous decorated in the Kerch style and now in Berlin may also depict the little Dionysos.²² There we see a boy seated between two women, or maenads, who bring him cakes and grapes; an altar stands to one side.

Two interesting fourth century vases - a pelike in the Hermitage by the Eleusinian Painter, (28) (PL 19b) and a cup, or possibly plate, once in the Hamilton Collection in Naples, and now lost (29) (PL 20a) - show Hermes receiving the infant Dionysos from a female figure. The representation on the pelike has been much disputed: Picard, Nilsson and Walter believed it to show the Eleusinian myth

of the presentation of the infant Ploutos²³. Metzger suggested that the scene shows Hermes taking back the infant Dionysos, son of Semele, from the nymph Dirke, to whom he had committed him to be washed in the waters of her spring: he now once more receives the child in order to convey him to Zeus, in whose thigh he will be sewn until the time comes for his second birth.²⁴ But both of these hypotheses are flawed. That the child seems to be wrapped in an animal skin indicates that he is the infant Dionysos, not Ploutos. Also the cave in which the child is brought forth is covered with ivy, another Dionysiac attribute, and the child himself is ivy-wreathed. Furthermore, whereas Ploutos on the other side of the pelike (PL 25b & p 103f) is given his attribute of the cornucopia, the child here is not so equipped. However, we are here in an Eleusinian setting, which has little to do with the infant son of Semele, for there is a Kore-type figure holding two torches, and the woman who brings the infant to Hermes is a chthonian figure who emerges from the earth. The character of Dionysos in a chthonian, Eleusinian setting such as this is that of Zagreus, son of Persephone, rather than Dionysos, son of Semele.²⁵ This identification is borne out by the presence of Athena, who according to the Orphic tradition was his protectress.²⁶ The goddess extends her spear protectively above the child whilst holding up her shield against, and looking back warily towards, the female figure in the upper right hand corner of the picture. This is probably therefore Hera, and the enthroned man beside her, who casts a sidelong glance in her direction, will then be Zeus. A Nike flying above

Athena guarantees her victory. The figure seated in the bottom right hand corner with tympanum may well be a nymph or maenad, betokening the orgiastic side of Dionysos Zagreus, and also perhaps the nurse to whom Hermes will bear the child. Perhaps she beats the tympanum so that Hera will not hear the cries of the baby, just as the Kouretes drowned out the cries of the infant Zeus.²⁷

The woman who presents the infant to Hermes has been variously interpreted as the Theban spring nymph Dirke (n 24) or as the place nymph Styx, (Para 436) mistress of the spring of Hades. Bérard, however, points out that "l'imagerie ne représente jamais les nymphes selon le schéma très particulier des anodes"²⁸, but perhaps Styx, being of the underworld, may be an exception. Very likely though the woman rising with the child is Persephone, herself the mother, who emerges from her underground realm to deliver the babe to Hermes. On the other hand, Persephone is also a candidate as the identity of the woman with two torches who sits above the cave. But if we cast an eye over the representation on the other side of the vase, we see not only that Persephone is shown there with a single long torch, but also that torches are not exclusively Persephone's attribute, for a young man in short patterned robe and boots, perhaps Iakchos, holds a torch in each hand. Returning to the other side of the pelike, both our seated woman with torches, and through her the standing figure leaning on her, are connected with the cave in which the child is brought forth, and are therefore probably also

involved in the birth. It seems most likely that it is Persephone who rises to present the child to Hermes, whilst Hekate, guardian of the entrance to the realm of the dead, sits above the cave; for her two torches are a frequently recurring attribute.²⁹ She was also revered as kourotophos,³⁰ and was honoured at Eleusis. The woman standing by her side may be the birth goddess Eileithyia.

This interpretation of the Eleusinian Painter's picture as the birth of Dionysos Zagreus in a chthonian Eleusinian setting gains further credibility when we examine the scene on the obverse of the vase: (PL 25b) here we find a close connection with our representation since once again we are in an Eleusinian setting. Where Demeter and Persephone receive Herakles as an initiate. The adult Dionysos and perhaps Iakchos, himself of Dionysiac character are, furthermore, present among the bystanders.

A lost fourth century cup or plate, once in the Hamilton Collection at Naples, (29) (PL 20a) also represents the theme of Hermes receiving a child from a female figure, although here the composition is much simpler, consisting only of the three main characters - Hermes, the babe and the woman who delivers the infant to Hermes. As on the Hermitage vase, the woman is surrounded by ivy which arches over her head, and which may well be intended to schematically represent a cave or bower. This ivied setting, and the fawn skin on which the child is carried, identify the infant as Dionysos. Again, it is the identity

of the woman holding the child that is most difficult to determine. Hermes and the woman are drawn in two different planes so that Hermes, on a higher plane, has to stoop to receive the child. The positioning by the artist of Hermes and the female figure on different levels may have been effected for purely compositional reasons, but bearing in mind that the subject is Hermes receiving the infant Dionysos, and that the scene was painted about the same time as the Eleusinian Painter decorated his pelike with an unmistakably chthonic female handing Dionysos to Hermes, it seems just as likely that the placing of the woman on the cup/plate on a plane lower than Hermes is meant to indicate her chthonian character, especially in view of the ivied arch around her which suggests that she stands in a grotto. In this case we can tentatively identify her as Persephone rising from her underground kingdom to entrust her son, Dionysos Zagreus, to Hermes.

It has been suggested that Zagreus is also represented on a kalpis of about 460 BC in the British Museum. (183) (PL 108) This shows a man in patterned Thracian cloak and soft cap standing frontally and holding over his left arm the limp body of a child from which he has torn the left leg. To right a second Thracian man flees the scene, and to left Dionysos looks on. Several scholars have proposed that this is a unique representation of the little Zagreus being devoured by the Titans.³¹ However, even if the Thracian-dressed men are to be interpreted as Titans, an iconographic motif for which I know no parallel, this does not explain

why one of them runs away from the scene of destruction. Dionysos' presence, furthermore, is hard to account for. I think the interpretation of this picture is rather more likely to be the death of Dryas at the hands of his royal Thracian father, Lykourgos, whilst the latter was afflicted by a madness sent by Dionysos. I deal with the objection that Lykourgos here lacks his usual weapon, the double axe, in chapter four, in a discussion of red-figure representations of Dryas. (p 374-5)

It is interesting to note that both the Naples cup/plate (29) and the Hermitage pelike (28), which most probably show the infant Dionysos Zagreus, date to the fourth century, and that there seem to be no known fifth century representations of this subject. Although it is only on the Naples cup/plate and Hermitage pelike that Dionysos-Zagreus is shown as a babe being brought forth from the earth as a chthonian god, Dionysos is represented elsewhere in his adult form in a chthonian Eleusinian setting.³² And certainly in the fourth century chthonic cults and mysteries became more popular. Towards the middle of the fifth century, the Little Mysteries at Agrai, celebrated each spring outside the walls of Athens on the banks of the Ilissos, came to be regarded as a necessary preparation for the Great Mysteries at Eleusis. In the Classical period the cult at Agrai was regarded as the "Lesser Mysteries of Demeter" and as the "Mysteries of Persephone."³³ Stephanos of Byzantium tells us that they also involved Dionysos.³⁴ Perhaps it was there in the

month of Anthesteria, a period with strong Dionysiac associations, that Persephone ascended from Hades with Dionysos Zagreus.³⁵ It is feasible that the Naples cup/plate and Hermitage pelike reflect this new-found importance of the Agra Mysteries.

Two fourth century bell-krater fragments from Al Mina in the Ashmolean Museum, (30) (PL 20b) present us with a Dionysiac child in an Eleusinian setting, as did the Hermitage pelike. The fragments show, from left to right, a helmeted and armed warrior, a woman bearing two torches, a seated woman with a boy on her knee, and a figure wearing a chlamys. All the figures are incomplete to a greater or lesser extent. The torch-bearing female is most likely Kore-Persephone, and the woman closely associated with her, seated on a high-backed chair or throne-like seat, should then be Demeter. The boy on her lap has white-painted skin and wears Thracian boots and a short, decorated chiton, over the top of which he sports a spotted animal skin. This child is clearly of Dionysiac character, and thus far in an Eleusinian context we have more specifically identified him as Zagreus. But as son of Persephone, Dionysos Zagreus is more likely to be seated on the knees of his mother than of his grandmother. Ploutos, son of Demeter, springs at first to mind, but the child here lacks a cornucopia and the iconography otherwise does not accord with our scenes of the infant Ploutos (39-42) and, furthermore, the animal-skin drapery demands a Dionysiac identity. The child's mode of dress in short embroidered tunic and Thracian boots

corresponds with the garb of the Eleusinian Iakchos as he apparently appears elsewhere in Greek art,³⁶ and indeed this child may be Iakchos who, from the fifth century onwards, seems to have been closely assimilated with Dionysos.³⁷ However, in that except for the Oxford fragments, Iakchos appears in art not as a child but as a youthful torch-bearing adult figure, this tantalisingly incomplete picture is not only unique, but perhaps also a little puzzling.

CONCLUSIONS

The material presented in this chapter shows that the infancy of Dionysos was a relatively popular subject with Attic red-figure vase-painters of the fifth century, particularly between about 470-35. Although extant illustrations of the actual birth of Dionysos, first from Semele and secondly from Zeus, are rare (1, 2, 3) they occur throughout the middle and second half of the fifth century. from about 460-400. Dionysos entrusted by Zeus to the nymphs appears only between about 490-50 (6, 7, 8, 9, 10) and is then replaced in the mid-fifth century by scenes of Hermes committing the child to the care of the nymphs (11, 12, 14, 15, 16), to Papposilenos (18, 19) or to nymphs/maenads and silenoi/satyrs. (17, 20, 21)

The introduction into vase-painting of the mid-fifth century of the theme of Dionysos delivered into the care of a silen or Papposilenos (17, 18, 19) is probably directly due to the influence of Sophokles' satyr play, the Dionysiskos, whilst the inspiration for the generally increased role and popularity of Hermes in representations of the childhood of Dionysos in the middle and second half of the fifth century is probably at least partly attributable to Sophokles' drama.³⁸ Certainly, it is the group of Hermes or Papposilenos with the child which is established in these years which becomes, in its various permutations, the enduring iconographic motif employed for the representation of the infancy of Dionysos during the

fourth century and the Hellenistic era.³⁹ Further dramatic influence, namely the Athamas (A) of Sophokles, may perhaps also be seen in the appearance in vase-painting of about 460 BC of the myth version in which the infant Dionysos is delivered into the fosterage of Athamas and Ino.

Beginning about 460 and continuing into the first half of the fourth century, the vase-painters also favoured scenes of the young god being entertained by nymphs/maenads and silenoi/satyrs (13, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27): here the importance of the narrative element of the representations declines, and the child's attendants seem to be less the nymphs of Nyssa than maenads and satyrs, who stress the Bacchic character and future of the god.

Dionysos in all of these scenes is nearly always depicted as a babe in arms, though on rare occasions he is represented more as a toddler, able to act independently. (24, 26, 27) He never appears as an older boy. He is, however, always alert and aware of what is happening, even at the moment of his birth. (1, 2, 3) Often he looks like a miniature young man, and rarely does his physique or stance attain any degree of childlike naturalism: the Chicago (14) and Villa Giulia (11) painters' infant figures, with their chubbier bodies, are exceptional and Hermonax's Dionysos (22), though rendered physically as a diminutive well-muscled youth rather than a baby, effects a convincing childlike attitude. Not surprisingly, late fifth and fourth century depictions of the child's figure tend to be more

realistic. (26, 27, 29)

The most common iconographic schema employed by the vase-painters for scenes of the infant Dionysos is that of the child, usually partially or fully draped, carried in the arms of a standing figure to another standing or seated figure. Though the identities of these persons vary, the schema each time denotes the delivery or handing over of the child. Usually, the exchange has not yet taken place, but exceptionally, in the scenes of the Altamura Painter (8) and the Painter of the Florence Stamnos (6), Zeus has already given his son to the nymphs. Most commonly the child twists in the arms of the figure carrying him to stretch out his arms to his new nurse and this, as we shall see, is an iconographic motif frequently repeated in red-figure scenes of greeting or farewell. (See ch 3 p 206. & ch 4 p 279)

Though so much of the monumental art produced in the Classical period has long since disappeared, several at least of our stock figures in red-figure scenes of the birth and childhood of Dionysos must have been copied from or inspired by prototypes in plastic, and possibly mural, art of the fifth and fourth centuries. As we have seen, the group of Hermes raising one leg to rest it on a rock, and holding the infant Dionysos in his arms to present the child to a figure in front of him, (17, 19) must have been established in plastic or mural art by the mid-fifth century, whilst certain of the Dionysiac figures seen on a Kerch style lekanis lid (25) show the influence of what are likely to have been fourth century Attic sculptural reliefs.

the model for the late fifth century group of Hermes carrying the infant Dionysos and moving rapidly to left, to be seen on 1, 20 and 21, may on the other hand reflect the creation of the group in contemporary figure-decorated silver and gold vessels.

If in the fifth century the popularity of the infancy of Dionysos with vase-painters can reasonably, to a large degree, be linked to the influence of the theatre, both in terms of the use of the subject as a specific dramatic theme and more generally as a reflection of the introduction into Athens of the cult of Dionysos of Eleutherae and its associated dramatic festivals, our surviving fourth century vase-paintings seem in part to have been produced under a different influence. The apparent introduction of the figures of Dionysos-Zagreus (28, 29) and of the young Iakchos (30) point to the growing importance of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the religious life of Athens. This is underscored by the appearance in vase-painting of the same period of another Eleusinian god, Ploutos, also in the guise of a child. (39-42) Indeed, the Eleusinian Painter depicts the infant Zagreus and Ploutos on opposite sides of his Hermitage pelike (28), and whilst the obverse with Ploutos would seem to reflect the Great Mysteries at Eleusis, the reverse with Zagreus may reflect the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai.

Our difficulties in distinguishing these various divine Eleusinian children one from another in fourth century vase-

painting is due probably as much to their partial assimilation one to another during the fourth century as it is to our limited knowledge of their characters and cult at a distance in time of some two-and-a-half thousand years.⁴⁰ Iakchos is sometimes identified with Dionysos, sometimes with Ploutos. and Dionysos' close association with Ploutos can be seen in art by the former's occasional adoption of the cornucopia.⁴¹ (21) The same iconographic schema, that of an infant handed up to a waiting figure by a woman rising from the earth,⁴² is used both for the birth of Zagreus (28) and of Ploutos (42), though this is a type also used in a non-Eleusinian context for the birth of another chthonic child, namely Erichthonios. (44-48) Whilst in the fifth century Eleusinian and Dionysiac themes remained iconographically distinct, their juxtaposition in fourth century vase-painting signals a new significance for the divine Eleusinian-Dionysiac child, who now embodied the Orphic principle of rebirth.

Finally, it is perhaps surprising that certain representations of the infant Dionysos appear so infrequently on the chous, a shape whose associations with children and the Dionysiac Anthesteria festival one would have expected to render it particularly suitable for such a subject.⁴³

NOTES

1. On the iconography of the young Dionysos see LIMC III, Dionysos pp 478-82, pll 376-81; V, Hermes pp 319-21, pll 229-31; K Arafat Classical Zeus (1990), 39-50; A Kossatz-Deissmann in JP Descoeudres, ed EYMOYIA: Studies Cambitoglou (1990), 203-10; S Karouzou AM 98 (1983), 60-64, pll 20-22; J Oakley AntK 25 (1982), 44-7, pl 8; K Schefold Die Göttersage in der klassischen & hellenistischen Kunst (1981), 27-41; F Brommer Göttersagen in Vasenlisten (1980), 16-19; EH Loeb Die Geburt der Götter (1979), 28-59, 286-300; D Aepli Klassischer Zeus (1971), 108-24; P Zanker Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der Attischen Vasenmalerei (1965), 77-80; H Metzger Les Représentations (1951), 101-10, pll 8-9; H Fuhrmann JdI 65-6 (1950-1), 103-34; AB Cook Zeus III (1940), 79-89; A Greifenhagen RM 1931, 27-43; H Philippart Revue belge 9 (1930), 11-30; H Heydemann Dionysos' Geburt & Kindheit (1885).

2. Small black-figure neck-amphora, Paris, Cab Méd 219, from Capua, Diosphos Painter, ca 500-480. ABV 509 no.120: Add 127: LIMC III, Dionysos 704: CVA Bibl Nat 2, pls 75, 6-7 & 76, 2-3; Fuhrmann loc cit n 1, 111-118 & fig 4; Loeb op cit n 1, 34-5; E Haspels Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi (1936), 96. (These give a complete bibliography.)

The boy holds up two torches, appropriate attributes for the god of fire. An inscription in front of him identifies him as ΔΙΟΣΦΩΣ, and although there has been much discussion regarding the interpretation of this name, Διὸς Φῶς, "light of Zeus", seems as viable as any. This too would be an appropriate label for the god of fire. The third figure in the scene - a woman standing in front of the group of the seated Zeus with the child - is inscribed with the name HEPA. As arch-enemy of the new-born Dionysos her presence here is unconvincing, but as mother of Hephaistos by Zeus, she completes the divine family trio. If indeed this is Hephaistos, it is the only known extant representation in the whole of Attic vase-painting of this god as a child.

Although we have no certain extant representations of the birth and childhood of Dionysos in Attic black-figure, it was nevertheless an iconographic theme in use during the black-figure period, for Pausanias (3.18.11) tells us that Hermes was shown bearing the infant Dionysos to heaven on the Amyklaian throne. See LIMC III, Dionysos 665. See also M Pipili in Stips Votiva (1991), 143-8.

The above-mentioned picture by the Diosphos Painter is not the only scene by this artist to contain a child whose representation is very unusual and whose identity it is difficult to interpret. A small black-figure neck-amphora of special shape, Berlin F1837, ca 500-480 (ABV 509 no.121, 703; Para 248; Add 127: LIMC II, Artemis 1264; CVA Berlin 5 pl 43,3-4; 47,6 with previous bibliography) shows a bearded man holding up a diminutive female figure in front of him. The little figure looks like a miniature adult or, because of her very stiff pose, like a doll or small statue. But whatever or whoever she is, she is clearly very special: in the vase-painters' preserved repertoire, mortal children are carried by women and only divine or heroic infants may be held in the arms of men. The presence of Hermes, furthermore, confirms that we are here presented with a mythological subject. A woman stands before the man with (?)child and stretches out her arms towards them. The little female figure is unlikely to be Athena since we have here quite a different scene to the established iconographic schema for

her birth. (See below n 4, & also ch 2 n 56) She may perhaps be Artemis, though preserved Attic vase-painting provides us with no certain illustration of this goddess as a child. (See ch 2, p 97-8) Since the other side of the Diosphos Painter's amphora shows Atalanta wrestling Peleus, and since the obverse and reverse scenes of this painter's amphorae usually show related subjects, H Mommsen (CVA Berlin 5, 58) has suggested that the little female figure held by the man is also Atalanta, about to be exposed after her birth by her father, Iasios, while her mother, Klymene, stands by pleading.

3. Homer Iliad 14.325; Homeric Hymn 1 to Dionysos 6-7; 7 to Dionysos 56-7; 26 to Dionysos 1-6; Hesiod Theogony 940-2; Pindar Olympian 2.25-7; Euripides Bacchae 1-9, 88-98, 288-97; Apollodoros Bibl 3.4.3; Diodorus Siculus 4.2.2-3, 5.52.1-2.

On the ancient literary sources for the birth and childhood of Dionysos see further LIMC III, Dionysos p 417; Arafat op cit n 1; Loeb op cit n 1; J Laager Geburt & Kindheit des Gottes in der griechischen Mythologie (1957), 112-150; Greifenhagen loc cit n 1.

4. For a list of black- and red-figure vases which show Athena standing on Zeus' knee, see LIMC II Athena 365-70.

The motif of the child standing on the knee of a seated adult is, of course, also seen again on the Diosphos Painter's small black-figure neck-amphora in Paris (see n 2), where (?)Hephaistos stands on the knee of Zeus. The composition of this scene is similar to that on the Nausikaa Painter's pelike (4). It also occurs on a bell-krater in Ferrara by the Altamura Painter (170), where Dinopion stands on Zeus' knee.

5. Pelike, London, British Museum E410, Painter of the Birth of Athena, ca 470-60. ARV 494.1, 1656; Para 380; Add 250.

6. August Frickenhaus, "Lenaenvasen" in Zweiundsiebzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste (Berlin, 1912).

On the continuing controversy, and for a discussion of the relationship of these vase-paintings to the Lenaia festival see E Simon Festivals of Attica (1983), 100-1; HW Parke Festivals of the Athenians (1977), 106; A Pickard-Cambridge The Dramatic Festivals of Athens 2 (1968), 30-34; L Deubner Attische Feste (1932), 123-34.

W Burkert Homo Necans (1972), 260-3 & MP Nilsson Geschichte der griechischen Religion (1955), 572, 587-8 connected these vase-paintings with the Anthesteria.

For further bibliography on the subject see J Oakley The Phiale Painter (1990), 35-6 n 242.

7. The fourth vase is a neck-amphora, once Paris, Pourtales 134, ARV 622.46. A - king and woman. B - two youths.

8. My thanks to Dyfri Williams of the British Museum for his help in trying to trace, and his advice on, this vase.

9. On the Dionysiskos of Sophokles see AC Pearson The Fragments of Sophocles I (1917), 117-9; S Radt, ed Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta 4 (1977) 135f, 175-6, F171-3. On its reflection in vase-painting see E Simon in D Kurtz & B Sparkes, eds The Eye of Greece: Studies Robertson (1982), 143; F Brommer Satyrspiele (1959), 53; E Buschor FR III, 304.

Aischylos also wrote a satyr play, the Dionysou Trophoi, on the

infancy of Dionysos, although the subject here was somewhat different, and finds no reflection in extant vase-painting. See TrGF 4 349-51: Simon 140.

10. Marble relief, Athens Agora I7154, ca 340-30. LIMC II, Artemis 1280, pl 551.

11. Note also the repetition in these scenes of the related iconographic motif of a figure standing with one foot raised (11, 17, 19): this "attitude of the supported foot" is seen also on 1 and 20. On this motif see K Lange Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in die antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos (1879)

12. Praxiteles' Hermes with the infant Dionysos, Olympia Museum, ca 340-30. LIMC V, Hermes 394, pl 231. Pausanias 5.17.3.

Roman copy of Kresilas' Hermes with the infant Dionysos? Naples, Mus Naz 155747, from Minturno theatre. LIMC V, Hermes 395, pl 231.

Roman copy of Polykleitos' Hermes with the infant Dionysos? Florence, Boboli Gardens. LIMC V, Hermes 396, pl 231.

Kephisodotos' Hermes with the infant Dionysos. Pliny NH 34.87.

Pausanias 3.11.11 also tells us of a Hermes Agoraios with the infant Dionysos at Sparta. See LIMC III, Dionysos 677.

On all these sculptural groups see further Loeb op cit n 1, 47-9, 294-5 D27, D28 & D32: GE Rizzo Prassitele (1932-40).

13. Relief medallion from a Greek or Calenian terracotta guttus or askos, British Museum 87.5.8.362, late fifth century. GMA Richter AJA 63 (1959), 244-5, pl 57 fig 35.

Silver staters of Pheneos, Arkadia, ca 370-60. LIMC II, Arkas 6, pl 438
Roman plaster cast, Munich Museum antiker Kleinkunst, said to be from Egypt. GMA Richter in F Eckstein, ed ΘΕΩΡΙΑ: Festschrift Schuchhardt (1960) 179-83.

Stone relief in Athens, ca 400. Richter AJA 63, 244-5, pl 57 fig 37.

For discussions of the possible prototypes for this group see D Levi Antioch Mosaic Pavements I (1947), 287-9; E Pottier in K Masner, ed Festschrift für Otto Benndorf (1898), 82-3.

14. Oakley loc cit n 1.

15. Apollodoros Bibl 3.4.3. Ovid Met 4.420 ff.

On the ancient literary sources for the story see LIMC II, Athamas; V, Ino: Laager op cit n 3, 145ff.

16. See Pearson op cit n 9, 1ff. See also Fuhrmann loc cit n 1.

17. Heydemann op cit n 1, 39 n 157.

18. Bell-krater, Ancona, from Numana, ca 455: see Brommer op cit n 9, 42ff, fig 38-39, 78, no 105: F Brommer AA 1941, 53ff, fig 1,2.

Once second Hamilton Collection, Naples: see W Tischbein Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases III (Naples, 1795), pl 28: C Lenormant and J De Witte Elite des Monuments Céramographiques (Paris, 1844-61), IV pl 79: L Deubner Die Antike 6 (1930), 166, fig 10.

19. The klismos seen here is repeated many times in the Phiale Painter's work - eg. chous, Berlin 2416, ARV 1020.99, Add 316; hydria, Toronto 919.5.27/362, ARV 1020.94, Add 316; bell-krater, Louvre G422,

ARV 1019.77, Para 440, Add 315; hydria, Berlin 2385, ARV 1020.96; pyxis, Athens 1588, ARV 1023.144, Add 316; phiale, Boston 97.371 ARV 1023.146, Para 441, Add 316. For the same facial features and profile as the seated maenad here displays: straight continuous forehead/nose line, full though rather pointed chin, inclined angle of head, same curving eyebrow, same method of depicting eye - see Nolan amphora, Cab Méd 375, ARV 1015.20; white-ground kalyx-krater, Vatican Museum 16586/559 - see catalogue entry 18; pelike, Munich 2350, ARV 1017.50; stamnos, Warsaw 142465, ARV 1019.82, Para 441, Add 315. For the same horseshoe-shaped ankles compare Nolan amphora, Cab Méd 375, ARV 1015.20; lekythos, Bowdoin 13.11, ARV 1021.118, Para 441, Add 316. For the same pert bottom, drawn at a sharp angle to the back, with the same sturdy thighs, compare the naked dancing girl on the lekythos in the Museum of the Scala, Milan, 50, ARV 1021.119, Add 316. The black "stitch" running down the sleeve of the woman's garment is seen again on the Berlin hydria 2385, ARV 1020.96.
My thanks to John Oakley for a helpful discussion of this vase.

20. Metzger op cit n 1, 109.

21. Salpion krater, Naples, Mus Naz 6673, first century BC after an original of ?ca 330-20. Loeb op cit n 1, 56-7, 297 D37: W Fuchs Die Vorbilder der Neuattischen Reliefs (1959), 140-2, pl 27a & 29.

Neo-Attic relief, Naples, Mus Naz 281. Fuchs 141-2, pl 29c.

Puteal, Vatican, Gall dei Candelabri III 16, first century BC. LIMC V, Hermes 377, pl 230.

Neo-Attic relief fr, Cambridge (Mass), Sackler Mus 1970.25, first century BC. LIMC V, Hermes 378a, pl 230.

On these and other neo-Attic reliefs showing scenes from the birth and childhood of Dionysos see LIMC III, Dionysos 668, pl 376; Dionysos 685; Loeb op cit n 1, 56-9; Fuchs 140-2.

22. Chous, Berlin Staatl Mus 4982.31, from Kerch, Painter of the Ferrara Chous, early fourth century. ARV 1504.1: LIMC III, Dionysos 699, pl 380; Loeb op cit n 1, 46 n 142.

23. Ch Picard, BCH LV (1931), 35. M P Nilsson Geschichte der griechischen Religion I (1941), 295-96. O Walter OJh 30 (1937), 64f.

24. Metzger op cit n 1, 104.

25. My argument, with some modifications, accords most closely with that put forward by Erika Simon in AntK 9 (1966), 78-86, pls 18, 19.2. Also on the interpretation of this scene see Arafat op cit n 1, 42-3, with further bibliography for Zagreus.

26. For the Orphic tradition see O Kern Fragmenta Orpiorum (1963), fr 34-6, 209-14.

Zeus, in serpent form, approached Persephone and begat Zagreus, to whom he intended to give all power in the universe. But the Titans, incited by jealous Hera, tore the child to pieces and devoured him. It was Athena who rescued his heart to bring it to Zeus. Zeus swallowed the child's heart, and was thus later able to beget Dionysos by Semele.

On the ancient sources for the myth see Arafat op cit n 1, 42; F Graf Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit (1974), 67-78; IM Linforth The Cults of Orpheus (1941), 307-64; AJ Festugière Revue biblique 44 (1935), 366-96.

27.Kallimachos Hymn to Zeus 51-53.

28.C Bérard Anodoi (1974), 150.

29.For example, Hekate holds two torches as she lights Persephone rising from the earth on a bell-krater in New York, Metropolitan Museum 28.57.23, Persephone Painter. ARV 1012.1: Para 440: Add 314.

30.Hesiod Theogony 450-452.

31.J Dörig & O Gigon Der Kampf der Götter & Titanen (1961), 20: WKC Guthrie Orpheus & Greek Religion (1935), 130-3: HB Walters CVA British Museum 6, pl 100.2: AB Cook Zeus I (1914), 654, pl 36: C Smith BM Catalogue III (1896) 188, E246; JHS II (1890), 343-9.

32.On the adult Dionysos in a chthonian Eleusinian setting see H Metzger BCH 68-9 (1944-5), 323-9.

The adult Dionysos also rises from the earth as a chthonian figure on a fourth century bell-krater in the British Museum 1917.7-21.1. See Bérard op cit n 28, 103ff, fig 34, pl 10: Metzger 296-7, fig 1.

33.For the Little Mysteries at Agra, see C Kerényi Eleusis (1967), 48-52: E Simon, loc cit n 25, 83-86: G Mylonas Eleusis (1961), 239-243: Nilsson op cit n 23, I.2, 667-9: Deubner op cit n 6, 70.

34.Stephanos of Byzantium Ἑθνικά, Ἄγραι καὶ Ἄγραι - "μίμνημα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον".

35.Bérard op cit n 28, 147-151.

36.On the iconography of Iakchos see LIMC V, Iakchos: Metzger op cit n 1, 257-8; Recherches (1965), 38, 52: HG Pringsheim Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kultes (1905).

It should be noted that we have no red-figure representations of Iakchos which are confirmed as such by inscriptions. There is, furthermore, some confusion over the distinction of the figures of Iakchos and Eumolpos, since the latter seems also to appear dressed in short embroidered tunic and Thracian boots, carrying a torch or torches or sometimes a sceptre. See LIMC V, Iakchos, with further bibliography for the subject.

37.On the character of, and the ancient literary sources for, Iakchos see LIMC V, Iakchos: Graf op cit n 26, 40-66.

38.Although we should also note the generally increasing role of Hermes as guardian of children in the fifth century: see also, for example, Hermes with the infant Herakles (ch 3, n 110); with the infant Achilles on 108 & 109; with the young Ganymede on 141 & 153; and probably also with Paris on 153. See also G Siebert in LIMC V, Hermes VIII A, "L'Imagerie du pédophore et protecteur de l'enfance".

39.See, for example, LIMC III, Dionysos 674, 675 pl 377, 687 pl 378, 688 pl 378, 689 pl 379, 690 pl 379, 693a pl 379, 694 pl 379, 695 pl 380.

See also M Trumpf-Lyritzaki Griechische Figurenvasen des Reichen Stils & der Späten Klassik (1969), 52 nos 140 & 141 (pl 7d), 53 nos 142-5 (pl 21a), 54 no 146.

See also n 12.

40. See Metzger op cit n 1, 254-9 on the relationships between the various fourth century Eleusinian children.

41. See, for example, plastic lekythos in the form of Papposilenos carrying the cornucopia-bearing infant Dionysos: British Museum 94.12-4.4, ca 350. LIMC III, Dionysos 690, pl 379.

42. On this iconographic schema see H Metzger in P Ducrey, ed Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart (1976), 295-305.

43. Assured representations of the infant Dionysos on choes seem only to appear on 27, and on a chous with moulded relief in Athens, National Museum 2150, early fourth century: G van Hoorn Choes & Anthesteria (1951) no 74, fig 43. See n 22 for a possible third representation of the infant Dionysos on a chous.

On the representation of children on choes see G Raepsaet & C Decocq Les Études Classiques 55 (1987), 3-15; H Rühfel Kinderleben im klassischen Athen (1984), 125-74; EM Stern Castrum Peregrini 132/3 (1978), 27-37; J Bazant Listy Filologické 98 (1975), 72-8; JR Green BSA 66 (1971), 189-228; AA 1970, 475-87; BICS 8 (1961), 23-28; A Rumpf Bonner Jahrbucher 161 (1961), 208-14; van Hoorn op cit; S Karouzou AJA 50 (1946), 122-39.

Chapter Two

Other Divine Children

Introduction

Other divine children represented in Attic red-figure are Hermes, Asklepios, Ploutos, Apollo and possibly Artemis, and a swaddled bundle masquerades as the infant Zeus. Unlike Dionysos, these divine children are infrequently represented.

HERMES

Depictions of the infant Hermes in Attic vase-painting are rare; we have no such representations in black-figure, and only three undisputed illustrations in red-figure. A fourth red-figure vessel may depict the child Hermes. Between them they span the years from about 490-430. The representations can be broken down into two groups; the baby god with the cattle of Apollo, and the child carried by Iris.¹

Hermes with the cattle of Apollo is found on the beautiful Vatican cup by the Brygos Painter (31) (PL 21) and on krater fragments painted by an artist near the Kleophon Painter in a private collection in Berne. (32) (PL 22a) The well-known Brygos cup shows the infant Hermes swaddled and wearing petasos, propped up in his liknon in the cave of his mother Maia, who stands over him, while they are surrounded by cattle; on the other side of the cup Apollo appears with more cattle. The krater fragments in Berne preserve only a small, but important, part of the original scene, showing little Hermes this time with winged hat and kerykeion, again closely wrapped and lying propped up in a liknon: behind him is an ox, and before him there must have been another, since the tip of an ear or horn is still visible. Below, in a second frieze, a hare bounds away to right.

Both of these scenes agree closely with the fourth Homeric Hymn, which tells of the birth of Hermes. There, in

order to win himself a place among the gods, the newborn child is immediately up and about in order to effect various cunning deeds, one of which is the theft of the cattle of Apollo. (17-22) After sacrificing two of the cattle (115-37), he returns to his cradle in the cave of Maia to await the arrival of the enraged Apollo. (142-53) Hermes thus is clearly no ordinary child, subject to the limitations of mortal childhood, but in reply to Apollo's accusations and threats, it is exactly this infant weakness which he pleads as his defence. (265-73) Finally, Hermes and Apollo appear for judgement before Zeus, who seeks to reconcile them. Hermes, by the gift of the lyre, which he had invented that same day, wins Apollo's friendship, and in exchange becomes lord of the herds and gains the place among the gods that he had sought. (322-512) The influence of the Hymn may well be seen in a handful of Attic black-figure vessels which show Hermes as cowherd, but always he appears in these scenes as fully grown, adult.² In red-figure iconography the adult Hermes as cowherd, complete with lyre, is found one more time³, and the infant Hermes as cowherd now makes his appearance.⁴

It is perhaps surprising that the infant Hermes with Apollo's cattle is a subject which appears only twice in the surviving corpus of Attic vase-paintings,⁵ since the myth must have been a popular and well-known one in the late seventh, sixth and fifth centuries BC. Alkaios, who is said to have flourished in the forty-second Olympiad (612-609 BC), wrote a hymn to Hermes on this theme, whilst the

Homeric Hymn to Hermes probably dates to the earlier part of the sixth century BC. And in the fifth century Sophokles wrote the Ichneutae, a satyr play which also treated the theft of Apollo's cattle by the little Hermes, but which gave its own twists to the tale.⁶

The second group of vase-paintings depicting the infant Hermes shows him in the arms of Iris, and comprises only one or perhaps two vases: a signed skyphos fragment by the Lewis Painter in Tübingen University, (33) (PL 22b) and a kalpis in Munich by the Kleophrades Painter. (70) The former preserves only the upper part of Iris and Hermes, both facing to left. Iris, her right hand apparently resting on her hip, holds Hermes in her left. The young god boldly holds out before him a large kerykeion, as if to present it before the figure who must have stood to left, but of whom remains only the top of the sceptre that he held. There are two possible identities for this missing figure. Firstly, he could be Zeus. The original messenger of the gods was Iris, but with the advent of the younger Hermes, she was relegated to the role of Hera's special attendant, and Hermes became divine messenger par excellence.⁷ A plausible interpretation of the Lewis Painter's scene is therefore Iris holding the infant Hermes, who has taken her kerykeion for himself - perhaps significantly the kerykeion is almost as large as Hermes - and holds it out before his father, thereby establishing himself as the new herald of the gods. Alternatively, the figure to left who held the sceptre could have been Apollo,⁸ since according to the Homeric Hymn to

Hermes it was he who gave the kerykeion to Hermes⁹. Iris, as the older herald looking on, perhaps holds the young Hermes in recognition that the office of herald has literally changed hands.

The second vase, a kalpis painted by the Kleophrades Painter (70) (PL 44b), shows Iris running to right with wings outspread and carrying in her arms a child wrapped in a mantle. This time she herself holds the kerykeion. The interpretation of this scene is doubtful: Iris may be transporting the infant Hermes, the significance of which, as I have suggested for the Lewis Painter's skyphos fragment, could be the new herald come to replace the old. Or, more likely, for reasons I shall discuss later, the scene should be interpreted as Iris carrying the infant Herakles. (see ch 3, p 185-8)

In red-figure iconography the role usually assigned to Hermes is that of mediator and/or bystander. Very rarely is he the central or key figure or the focus of attention. However, in scenes of his childhood it is obvious that the opposite is true. And as an adult, it is again in the guise of Hermes Kyllenos when tending his cattle herds that he makes a rare appearance centre stage and in the spotlight. (n 2) Whilst the motif of a child lying in a liknon on the Brygos Painter's cup (31) and Berne fragments (32) is unique in Attic vase-painting and peculiar to Hermes, the schema of the child held by a standing woman and presented to a standing sceptre-bearing god on the Lewis Painter's skyphos

fragment (33) was most likely borrowed from the more commonly represented theme of the infant Dionysos. (6, 8)

In all three assured representations of the infant Hermes, the new-born child looks like a diminutive youth or young man; he has none of the rounded, helpless bodily forms of infancy, and is perfectly alert and aware of his surroundings. We may speculate whether, in view of the nature of the infant Hermes who was capable both mentally and physically of all his cunning acts, this was deliberate on the part of the vase-painters. Let us finish with a comment on the nature of the divine child from a passage in Sophokles' Ichneutae, in which Hermes' nurse, Kyllene, tells the chorus of satyrs that the child is growing and developing at a most unnatural rate:-

"For though it be not yet the sixth day since he came
forth from the womb,
Yet untimely he presseth onward to the fulness of a
young child's stature."¹⁰

ZEUS

Even Zeus, the great father of men and of gods, was once himself a defenceless baby. Our major source for the story is Hesiod's Theogony (453-506); Kallimachos later wrote a Hymn to Zeus on the theme of the god's nativity and childhood. According to Hesiod, the birth took place in Crete, whither Rhea had fled in order to protect her offspring from Zeus' father, Kronos. But Kronos, forewarned that his powerful son would overthrow him, was intent on destroying the child by swallowing him, in the same way that he had treated his earlier progeny. Rhea responded to this by hiding the infant Zeus in a cave on Cretan Mount Aigion, and substituted him with a stone which she swaddled and gave to Kronos, who dutifully swallowed it down.¹¹

Attic red-figure iconography alludes twice to this tale. Both vases date to 460-50 and were painted by artists of the Mannerist school. A pelike in New York by the Nausikaa Painter shows Rhea facing in profile to right and holding out a swaddled bundle to Kronos who stands before her. (34) (PL 23a) She raises one foot and rests it on a rocky outcrop, which is perhaps suggestive of the mountainous location in which she had borne and secreted Zeus. Kronos, his body turned towards us in frontal view, head left in profile towards Rhea, grasps a sceptre in his left hand and raises his right above the "child". The version of the scene on the column krater in the Louvre shows Kronos as a white-haired and dignified old man holding

a sceptre and confronting Rhea who again approaches him carrying a closely-wrapped bundle.(35) (PL 23b) The stone appears to be enfolded within the upper part of the himation she wears, and it is interesting to compare this group with the figure of Leianeira similarly carrying the little Hyllos within the folds of her himation on a column krater of about 480 by the Tyszkiewicz Painter (80) (PL 51) and also the infant Perseus carried by his nurse on a hydria of about 490 by the Gallatin Painter. (90) (PL 57) Behind Rhea two handmaids, or perhaps nymphs, watch the scene with some consternation. The scene on the reverse of the vase may be interpreted as taking place subsequent to that on the obverse. In the centre Rhea, now empty handed, having presented the stone to Kronos, turns her head away from him to look at Nike, who, wings spread, hastens from the scene; Kronos' days are numbered. Kronos looks on, his figure almost identical to that in the obverse scene except that he clutches a staff and not a sceptre, perhaps to emphasise that his continued sovereignty will be short lived.

My inclusion of Zeus in this chapter on the birth and childhood of the gods in red-figure is perhaps, strictly speaking, rather overstretching the boundaries of my subject, since it is not the infant god who is depicted in these scenes, but is instead a swaddled stone! However, if we turn to Zeus' birth and childhood scenes in other media, we see that the divine child himself was there represented.¹² Pausanias tells us of an altar, probably classical, of Athena Alea in Tegea, which was decorated with

figures of, among others, Rhea and the nymph Oenoe with the baby Zeus.¹³ He also says that the priest of Athena there was a boy. Elsewhere, he writes about the sculptures of the fifth century Temple of Hera at the Argive Heraion, where a birth of Zeus scene decorated most likely the east pediment of the temple.¹⁴ In the same tradition as the two red-figure vases discussed above, there was in Pentelic marble by Praxiteles a sculptural representation of Rhea bringing the swaddled stone to Kronos in the temple of Hera Teleia in Boiotian Plataia.¹⁵ A different kind of representation of the young Zeus, which seems to have been neither in the tradition of Rhea bringing the infant god nor the swaddled stone to Kronos, was, according to Pausanias (7.21.4), to be seen at Argion in Achaia. This he says was a bronze statue of Zeus as a boy, made by Ageladas of Argos, who was at work sometime between the late sixth and mid-fifth centuries, although his exact chronology is very confused.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that Pausanias also says that in a time earlier than his own, the priest of this child Zeus was himself a boy. In the light of these sculptural representations of Zeus as baby and boy, it is perhaps surprising that in the surviving corpus of Attic red figure vases an episode pertaining to the birth and childhood of Zeus is shown only twice, and that the divine child himself is never depicted. As for extant Attic black figure, the subject never occurs.

APOLLO

The infant Apollo can be securely identified only once in the surviving corpus of Attic red figure vases, and may perhaps be recognised on a second red-figure vessel, now missing. He appears again on a neck amphora of uncertain fabric.¹⁷

His one unequivocal sighting in extant Attic red-figure is on a very undistinguished lekythos by the Leto Painter in Berlin. (36) (PL 24a) Here the long haired child is borne along in the arms of his mother, Leto, whilst raising his bow before him to take aim at an enemy not depicted by the artist. A similar group of Leto and the infant Apollo drawing his bow is seen again on two Attic black figure white-ground lekythoi - one in Paris, the other in Bergen - but here the pair are put into context:¹⁸ the target for Apollo's arrow is seen to be a great serpent, which emerges from a rocky grotto beside what may be interpreted as the omphalos stone, indicating that the setting is Delphi. Between Leto with her child and the serpent are two palm trees, emphasising the Apolline character of the scene, and a standing female figure, probably Artemis.

The story is familiar to us from the ancient literary sources:¹⁹ the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo recounts how Apollo, adult and alone, came to Delphi and with his arrows slew a great she-dragon.²⁰ Euripides in his Iphigeneia in Tauris (1239-1251) gives a version of the tale which accords

more closely with that depicted on the three lekythoi: after giving birth to Apollo on Delos Leto carried the baby to Delphi, and there the divine child slew the dragon from the safety of his mother's arms. Since all three lekythoi depicting the scene, both black- and red figure, date to the second quarter of the fifth century and Euripides' Iphigeneia in Tauris appeared much later, probably a little before 412 BC, these vase-paintings show that the myth version of Apollo brought to Delphi as a babe by Leto, and there slaying the dragon, was one known earlier in the fifth century than the preserved literary sources reveal.

Both black-figure lekythoi, the scenes on which are virtually identical, are attributed in Paralipomena (294) to the Beldam-Python Group; the Workshop of the Beldam Painter, near the Pholos Painter. A third black-figure, white-ground vase in this group, in the Louvre, also depicts Apollo slaying the dragon, but here Apollo, seated on the omphalos, the tripod beside him, is adult and confronts his foe alone.²¹ Furthermore, the dragon is transformed into a half human (head and upper body), half serpent (lower body) monster. This representation does not seem fully to agree with any of the extant versions of the myth.²² The Leto Painter, who provides our sole assured depiction of the infant Apollo in Attic red-figure, belongs to the same circle of painters as the Beldam-Python Group,²³ and as Marstrander and Seeberg have pointed out, Leto and Apollo on the Leto Painter's vase appear to be excerpted from the fuller scene which decorates the Cabinet des Médailles and

Bergen black-figure lekythoi of the Beldam-Python Group.²⁴ The subject of Apollo slaying the serpent-like dragon, with all its chthonic associations, must have been particularly appropriate to the funerary purposes of these lekythoi.

A second red figure vessel, now lost, depicts the infant Apollo in the arms of Leto as she flees from Python. This neck-amphora was part of the second Hamilton Collection, and was published by Tischbein. (37) (PL 24b) In the centre Leto, depicted in three quarter view fleeing to right, her head turned back in profile over her shoulder to look at Python, carries a child on each arm; Apollo in her right, and the slightly larger figure of Artemis in her left. Both chubby-limbed children are dressed in the same fashion, with a loose-wrapped mantle around the lower body and the upper torso bare, but Artemis has longer hair and wears an earring. Behind Leto, to left, the serpent Python, huge and coiled, but rearing up in readiness to strike, has emerged from his rocky lair. More rocks are shown in the direction to which Leto flees.

This is a very different representation of the Apollo-Python story from that we have seen on the red-figure lekythos in Berlin (36), and on the black figure lekythoi in Paris and Bergen (n 18). There, only the infant Apollo is carried by his mother, who advances towards Python whilst her son takes aim at the creature with his bow and arrow. Here, however, carrying both her children, Leto flees from the serpent and both infants hold out their arms towards it,

probably in a gesture of supplication. The serpent, however, looks rather benign, and with its slim form and long eyelashes has an aura of femininity which accords with the female dragon of the Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo. (300-374)

These differences in iconography between the red-figure neck-amphora and the red- and black figure lekythoi might possibly be accounted for by a different origin and date for the neck-amphora. Since the vase is now lost and therefore cannot be examined, it is difficult to be at all sure about its fabric. But Professor Trendall has suggested that the vase may be Apulian and date to the "first half of the fourth century, perhaps close to the middle".²⁵

Although in Attic vase-painting, or rather in Attic black figure vase-painting, a female figure carrying a child on each arm is several times represented, it is never - with the possible exception of the kourotrophos figure on the neck-amphora in the Louvre²⁶ - Leto carrying Apollo and Artemis, but rather Ariadne with Staphylos and Oinopion²⁷ or Aphrodite with Eros and Himeros.²⁸ Furthermore, the woman in these scenes carries her children high up in her arms, more or less on her shoulders, while Leto on the Hamilton amphora carries her offspring more comfortably at waist height. This latter type of the child-carrying female figure does, however, find an earlier model from the second half of the fifth century on the Bassae frieze. On British Museum slab 522²⁹ a Lapith woman flees to right, her head

turned back in profile to left over her shoulder, whilst carrying a child in her left arm. The only difference here is that instead of carrying a second child in her right arm as does the Leto figure, the Lapith woman's arm is stretched out behind her in the clutches of a centaur. The major difference in style is between the swirling draperies of the Lapith woman, blowing tightly around the outline of her legs, and the heavier, less clinging folds of Leto's skirts. There is, furthermore, an even earlier example of the child carrying female figure fleeing to right and looking back over her shoulder on a red-figure amphora painted about 460 by the Niobid Painter. (196) (PL 117b) Like the Lapith woman she carries only one child, who is here unusually and unmistakably female, and her free right arm is stretched out behind her in supplication to her pursuer, Artemis. Thus, as far as the group of woman with children on the Hamilton vase is concerned, I can see no iconographic objection to the vase being Attic in origin.

It has been suggested³⁰ that the group of Leto with her children on the red-figure neck-amphora may reflect the lost bronze statue of the mid-fourth century by Euphranor of Leto carrying the infant Apollo and Artemis, which was seen by Pliny (NH 34.77) in the Temple of Concord at Rome. Alternatively, the vase-painting could reflect the lost bronze group at Delphi, crafted by an unknown sculptor, which depicted Leto either with both her offspring or with Apollo only, the confusion here being due to the uncertainty of our late fourth century source, Klearchos of Soloi.³¹ It may

possibly be that the group seen by Pliny and that seen by Klearchos were one and the same statue. The suggestion that the vase-painting may reflect either lost statue group is prompted by the existence of later Roman statuettes which are a variation on the Leto with children group of the neck-amphora.³² And if indeed our red-figure scene does reflect a statue group, it is important to note that the sculptor was apparently reworking an iconographic type already in use shortly before the middle of the fifth century at the latest, as the Niobid Painter's vase testifies.

I venture, somewhat tentatively, to identify the infant Apollo on a red-figure vase which was once part of the first Hamilton Collection, (16) (PL 12) and which I have already considered in my chapter on the infant Dionysos. (p 50-51) The scene most likely shows the infant Dionysos in the arms of a nymph, whilst a second nymph and Hermes look on. However, as I have discussed above, the representation stands iconographically alone when compared to other known Attic red-figure vase-paintings of Hermes bringing Dionysos to the nymphs. If we identify the leafy twig held out over the head of the seated woman as a laurel branch,³³ this permits an alternative interpretation of the infant as Apollo, for whom, of course, the laurel was a particular attribute.³⁴ The woman holding the infant Apollo would then be his mother Leto; the rock upon which she sits accords very well with this interpretation, for the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (16) tells us that Leto bore her son in "rocky" Delos. The standing woman who holds out the

laurel branch towards mother and child is then best identified as Artemis.

Although Apollo and Artemis were brother and sister, and often thought of as twins, there was a tradition that they were born in different places - Artemis in Ortygia and Apollo in Delos³⁵ and therefore, it follows, at different times. Artemis came to be considered as the elder of Apollo, and Kallimachos tells us that Artemis assisted Leto at the birth of Apollo.³⁶ Artemis therefore may perhaps also be the standing female spectator on the two black-figure white-ground lekythoi discussed above, which show Apollo slaying the dragon from his mother's arms (n 18). And again on a late Attic red-figure polychrome tripod pyxis in Athens with its unique representation of Leto labouring to give birth to Apollo as she clutches the palm tree on Delos, Artemis may well be one of the women who stands behind her to lend assistance.³⁷

The presence of Hermes on the Hamilton vase, (16) although he plays no part in the literary or iconographic traditions of the birth of Apollo, does not preclude such an interpretation of the scene: Hermes is many times seen in Attic red-figure in the company of the Apolline triad as an onlooker rather than performing any specific role or function,³⁸ and this may also be the case here. The little figure held by the seated woman is very stiff and looks more like a miniature adult than a child. It might then be suggested that the little figure is a statuette. However,

the woman who holds him has bared her breast to suckle him, so he can hardly be inanimate. On the other hand, that she is about to suckle, or has suckled, the child conflicts with his identification as Apollo according to the version of his birth recounted in the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo. (123-35). There we are told that Leto did not give her son the breast, for Themis fed him with the divine food, nectar and ambrosia. It also has to be said that the representation as I have interpreted it here does not fit in iconographically with any other known vase-paintings of the birth or childhood of Apollo, or even with the known statues of,³⁹ and literary traditions for, the same. And to return to my original point of departure for the interpretation of this scene as depicting the infant Apollo, namely the significance of the laurel branch held out over the head of the seated woman with child, it is necessary to add a note of caution. The identification of particular species of flora in Attic red-figure is fraught with difficulties and provides very shaky ground on which to base the interpretation of a scene. On balance, therefore, it seems more likely that the Hamilton vase depicts the infant Dionysos.

The vase-painters and sculptors of the Classical period always portrayed Apollo as a youthful, and beautiful, god. Certainly in Attic red-figure vase painting he consistently appears as a young man and, moreover, often looks more like a youth or adolescent than a man.⁴⁰ But other than on the two, possibly three, vases discussed in detail above, he can nowhere else in red-figure be recognised as a child.

ARTEMIS

As for his sister, Artemis as a child is absent from the extant corpus of Attic red-figure vases, with the possible exception of the neck-amphora from the second Hamilton Collection, if that vessel should indeed be Attic rather than Apulian. (37) (PL 24b) However, Artemis may be the little female figure held by a bearded man, possibly Zeus, on a black figure neck-amphora by the Diosphos Painter (ch 1, n 2), and we do know that she appeared as an infant in at least two Classical statue groups: as I have already noted (p 93), the group of Leto with her children on the red-figure neck-amphora may reflect either the lost bronze statue by Euphranor which depicted Leto carrying the little Artemis and Apollo, and/or the lost bronze group at Delphi by an unknown sculptor if Artemis as well as Apollo was there represented. She was also a child in Skopas' statue group (n 32).⁴¹

Preserved early literary sources for the birth of Artemis are at least as sparse as the known painted and sculpted representations of the same. The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (14-16) and Pindar's processional song On Delos, tell us little more than that her mother was Leto, her brother Apollo, and that she was born in Ortygia, or perhaps Delos. Kallimachos later embroidered upon this in his Hymn to Artemis. Artemis came to be considered the elder sister or elder twin of Apollo, and Kallimachos tells us that Artemis assisted Leto at the birth of Apollo (n 36).

This accords with her functions as a goddess of birth and as kourotraphos and, as I have proposed, (p 95) permits a tentative identification of the adult female onlooker as Artemis in black- and red-figure scenes of the birth of Apollo. It is certainly not unusual for divine offspring, especially the female goddesses, to be given their adult form immediately or soon after birth, Athena and Aphrodite being good examples of this phenomenon (see p 111 & n 56), and it may well be that Artemis too was represented in her adult form almost immediately after her birth.

ASKLEPIOS

The infant Asklepios appears certainly once only on a finely decorated plate by the Meidias Painter.⁴² (38) (PL 25a) The plate shows a centrally placed Ionic column, which stands on a two-stepped podium and bears a tripod atop its capital. Seated to right of this column is a woman holding a laurel wreath: her name, EYΔAIMONIA, is written in white above her head. On the other side of the column a woman stands holding a laurel-wreathed child who wears a string of amulets round his torso and rests his right arm on the shoulder of his nurse: a third female figure stands behind them. Here the plate is badly damaged, so that we have only the child's head and upper torso, both of which are represented frontally, and the front part of the head, a small part of the upper drapery, and the feet and lower drapery of the woman who carries the infant. Of the third woman only the feet and lower drapery survive. The inscriptions which name the figures are partly preserved: by the child is written ΑΣΣ..., above the woman carrying him ...ΔΑΥΡΟΣ, and above the third woman EY... Dirk Cramers and Erika Simon (n 42) have reconstructed these names as Asklepios, Epidauros and, most likely, Eukleia.

The plate dates shortly after 420, which corresponds with the date of the formal introduction of the Asklepios cult to Athens.⁴³ Erika Simon (n 42) connects the scene with the Thargelia, a festival of Apollo at which the winning dithyrambic chorus was awarded a tripod, hence the

choregic monument of podium, column and tripod depicted on the plate. She proposes that the theme of the victorious dithyramb, as suggested by the figures ranged around the tripod, was the infant Asklepios snatched by his father, Apollo, from the womb of his slain mother, Koronis, and entrusted to the nymph Epidauros. Eudaimonia, prosperity or well-being personified, very fittingly has prepared a wreath for him, whilst Eukleia, good repute personified, looks on. Not only would Asklepios be a very appropriate subject for a dithyramb entered in contest at a festival of Apollo, but we also know that Telestes of Selinus wrote an Asklepios dithyramb at the beginning of the fourth century BC.⁴⁴ That was long after the Meidias Painter had decorated this plate, but as Erika Simon points out, the dithyrambic poets were wont to take up fixed subjects time after time, and therefore it is quite possible that Telestes was reworking a theme which had been established much earlier. Indeed, the story of the birth of Asklepios had already been told by Pindar and Hesiod.⁴⁵ According to them Koronis, daughter of King Phlegyas of Thessaly, was already with child by Apollo, but consorted also with Ischys. This roused the anger of the god, who sent Artemis to slay her. But, taking pity on his unborn child, Apollo snatched the little Asklepios from his mother's corpse, even as it was licked by the flames of the funeral pyre, a fate reminiscent of that of the infant Dionysos.

The iconography of the child figure on the plate is interesting for the fully frontal depiction of the face.⁴⁶

It is unusual in extant Attic red-figure to see such frontal facial iconography used for a child where the context is a non-violent one: in violent contexts Astyanax, for example, is several times depicted with frontal face in order to emphasise the unnatural and horrible fate he suffers. (113, 114, 120, 121, 123) Furthermore, although the Meidias Painter frequently depicted his figures with three-quarter faces, there exists only one other example of a figure with a frontal face in the surviving corpus of his work, namely the statue of Aphrodite, represented in completely frontal pose, on his namepiece in London showing the rape of the daughters of Leukippos.⁴⁷ That a statue should be represented frontally is not surprising, but what might be the reason for the frontal depiction of the infant Asklepios? The gaze of the two women in the scene whose faces are preserved is directed towards the child, and most probably the painter has employed a frontal aspect for the boy in order to emphasise that the child himself is the very focus of the composition, and the subject of the dithyramb which the tripod celebrates.

Although the Meidias Painter's plate gives us our only surviving securely identified image of Asklepios as a child from classical Greece, it is possible that a second vase of similar date by the Meidias Painter, a squat lekythos from Epidauros, (51) (PL 33b) also depicts the child Asklepios in a company of women which includes Athena: the picture, however, is too fragmentary to permit a certain identification of the scene. (see p 135-6) Pausanias (8.25.11 &

8.32.5) attests the cult of the Ἀσκληπιός Παις in Arkadia, and makes reference (8.32.5) to a statue of the boy god. It is interesting that since the Meidias Painter's plate is the only surviving Attic vase to represent Asklepios at all, and that in doing so bears one of the earliest surviving representations of Asklepios in the whole of ancient Greek art, that the painter has there shown him as infant rather than adult.

PLOUTOS

The Eleusinian Ploutos, son of Demeter and the ill-fated Iasion, was sent by Demeter and Persephone to those mortal men whom they favoured, in order to bless them with rich harvests.⁴⁸ Though not a commonly occurring personality in Attic red-figure, Ploutos appears most frequently as a little boy standing by the side of his mother Demeter.⁴⁹ He takes this guise on a series of four vases -- two pelikai and two fragmentary lekanis lids -- decorated in the third quarter of the fourth century by a group of artists all loosely connected with the Marsyas Painter. (28, 39, 40, 41) All of them depict an Eleusinian gathering, a standard theme of fourth century Attic red-figure. The gathering in each case varies, but central to each composition is the group of Demeter, Ploutos and Persephone. On 28 (PL 25b), 40 (PL26b), and 41 (PL 27a) Demeter is seated, her body angled towards the left in three-quarter, almost frontal view, and her head also in three-quarter view turned to right. She holds a sceptre in her right hand and her left is raised across her body at chest height. By her side stands Ploutos, depicted as a white-painted little boy. He is wreathed and whilst on 28 and 41 is naked, on 40 he wears a blue robe. He stands frontally, turning his head back to left to look at his mother, and holds a cornucopia in his left arm. To right of this group stands Persephone, also depicted frontally, holding a torch in one or both hands and looking towards Demeter and Ploutos. The now missing Sandford Graham pelike

(39) (PL 26a) essentially repeats the same three-figured group, but modifies it to show Demeter holding her sceptre in her left hand and replaces Persephone with Dionysos by changing the figure's attribute from the torch to the thyrsos: the iconography of the figure is otherwise little changed. The very close similarities of this group on all four vases has led to the suggestion that it was inspired by a wall-painting which decorated either the sanctuary at Eleusis or the Athenian Eleusinion.⁵⁰ Metzger, furthermore, proposes that the group of Demeter, Persephone and Ploutos on 28, 40 and 41 perhaps represents a veritable Eleusinian triad, and one which took over from that of the Demeter, Persephone and Triptolemos group of fifth century red-figure.⁵¹

Six Panathenaic amphorae found in Eretria and dated to 360-59 by their archon inscriptions show Athena flanked by two columns, both of which are crowned by a group of Eirene carrying the infant Ploutos.⁵² Eirene stands frontally, head in three-quarter view looking down to right on the child, whom she holds on her left arm: in the other hand she holds a sceptre. Ploutos, usually depicted in added white, is draped from the waist down, and holds a cornucopia in his left arm whilst stretching out his right towards Eirene's face. The group is clearly copied from Kephisodotos' statue of the same subject; probably commissioned in connection with the Peace of Kallias in 371 and erected in the Athenian agora, this is now conclusively proven to have been a work in bronze.⁵³

Since the representation of Ploutos on the Panathenaic amphorae was clearly inspired by sculpture and that on the four red-figure vases discussed above probably by a wall-painting (28, 39, 40, 41), it thus far appears that the infant Ploutos was a figure given visual expression by the monumental arts of the fourth century, in iconographic types to which the vase-painters had little or nothing to add. However, still in the fourth century, we see at least one vase-painter reusing an iconographic type which had long been employed in red-figure for Erichthonios (44-48). On a kalpis from Rhodes, now in Istanbul, decorated about 360, we see Ge half-emerged from the ground and holding out a large cornucopia on which perches the little Ploutos. (42) (PL 27b) His lower body is draped and faces to left whilst he turns his head and upper body to right, stretching out his arms to the waiting Demeter. Positioned to left behind Ge is Persephone, holding torches. Further figures filling the scene to right and left of the central group and also above in an upper register include Aphrodite, Hermes, Hekate and Iakchos or Eumolpos. Since the ancient sources tell that Demeter was mother of Ploutos (n 48), the significance of Ge handing the child to the goddess may be to emphasise the close links of both Demeter and Ploutos with the earth - the mother who was to send the son to bless the land with rich harvests - and to remind the viewer that Demeter had conceived Ploutos by Iasion in "the thrice-ploughed fallow land".⁵⁴ There may perhaps also have been a version of the myth in which Ge was the natural mother of Ploutos, and Demeter the foster-mother, much as Ge and Athena played

these roles respectively to Erichthonios. The iconographic schema employed here for Ploutos and also several times in the fifth century for the birth of Erichthonios is also seen again on the Eleusinian Painter's pelike of 340 30. (28) (PL 19b) Whilst one face of the pelike depicts the little Ploutos standing by Demeter's side, the other face shows a woman rising from the ground to hand a baby to Hermes. This has several times been interpreted as another birth of Ploutos scene (ch 1, n 23), but, as I have discussed in chapter one (p 60-63), it is more likely to represent the epiphany of Zagreus.

The infant Ploutos, furthermore, appears in Attic red-figure vase-painting at a date earlier than we have any proof of his occurrence in the major arts. On a chous painted about 400 BC in the manner of the Meidias Painter he appears in the guise of a typical chous child, as a semi-naked chubby little boy.⁵⁵ However, he is not here depicted in the Eleusinian setting in which we otherwise find him in Attic red-figure, but is shown halting a quadriga driven by Nike towards a tripod atop a column, whilst Chrysos follows the chariot holding a chous. All the figures are inscribed with their names. The significance of the chous picture is most likely that its little owner is thereby wished victory or success through gold and wealth. Since Ploutos here would therefore seem to be the straightforward personification of wealth, lacking his Eleusinian connections - as he was also in Kephisodotos' statue group, and its repetition on the Panathenaic amphorae

- I do not include him in my catalogue of representations of the little Eleusinian god.

However, we do seem to have an early red-figure representation of the infant Eleusinian Ploutos on a large and very fine fragmentary phiale of about 490 BC by Douris. (43) (PL 28a) The interior of this vessel bears three figured scenes: Achilles fighting Hektor, a pursuit - perhaps Ganymede chased by Zeus, and an assembly of seated deities. It is this last picture which is of particular interest to us. Robertson (see cat entry) has arranged the phiale fragments to give a scene of at least ten figures who, from right to left, are as follows: Ares (APE[Σ]) standing facing left at the head of the assembled gods who are seated facing right, (?)Aphrodite, an unidentifiable figure, Dionysos (ΔΙΟ[ΝΥΕΟΣ]), Amphitrite (ΑΜΦ[ΙΤΡΙΤΗ]), Poseidon, Kore ([ΚΙΟΠΕ]), Demeter (ΔΕΜ[ΗΤΗΡ]), Plouton (ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ), and finally a second unidentifiable figure. Only the head and left-hand side of the upper body of Kore survive, along with a little outstretched pair of hands cutting across her chest, a pair of hands which very likely belong to the infant Ploutos. It may be objected that it would be strange for Ploutos to be seated on the knee of Persephone, since he was Demeter's son and is closely associated with her in our other vase-paintings of this Eleusinian family group. (28, 39, 40, 41, 42) However, the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (486-9) associates Ploutos equally with Demeter and with Persephone, and though the little figure on Douris' phiale may be seated on Persephone's lap

his hands would seem to be stretched out in the direction of Demeter.

Ploutos therefore appears in two contexts in Attic red-figure: as the straightforward personification of wealth and as the Eleusinian god who brought richness of harvest to men. It is the latter, the divine child, who concerns us here, and as such he appears in preserved Attic red-figure almost exclusively during the fourth century, at a time when the Eleusinian cult had become particularly important. However, we know from the literary sources (n 48) that his existence as a mythological figure long predated the fourth century, and Douris' phiale probably gives us a much earlier glimpse of the divine child in art.

CONCLUSIONS

The appearance in Attic red-figure of the infant Ploutos and Asklepios can be linked to contemporary events surrounding their cults. Just as the popularity of red-figure scenes of the infant Dionysos in the fifth century can reasonably be associated with the introduction into Athens of the cult of Dionysos of Eleutherae and its accompanying dramatic festivals, the Meidias Painter's picture of the boy Asklepios reflects the introduction of the Asklepios cult to Athens, an event also apparently marked by a dithyramb written on the subject of the god's childhood. Again, the production of red-figure vases depicting the infant Ploutos in the fourth century can, like the scenes of the infant Zagreus (28, 29) and Iakchos (30) of a similar date, be attributed to the growing importance of the Eleusinian cult in the religious life of the Athenians. On the other hand, the inspiration for the illustration of the childhood of Hermes, Zeus, Apollo and Artemis on a handful of red-figure vases dating mostly to the fifth century cannot be attributed to any specific religious impetus.

In view of the popularity of the childhood of Zeus as a subject for monumental art in the fifth century, (p 87-8 & n 13-16) it is perhaps surprising that we have only two red-figure illustrations of Rhea bringing the swaddled stone to Kronos (34, 35) and no depictions of the infant or boy Zeus himself. That is not to say that vase-painting always took

its lead from the major arts, but at least in the case of the infant Dionysos (17, 19, 25) and Ploutos (28, 39, 40, 41), the red-figure artists seem several times to have been inspired by prototypes in plastic or mural art. Our fourth century vase depicting Leto fleeing with Apollo and Artemis (37) may also reflect a contemporary sculpture group. (p 93)

Indeed, the birth of the gods was a popular subject in monumental art of the Classical period. In addition to those representations of the infant Zeus noted above and of the infant Dionysos discussed in chapter one (p 52 & n 10, p 55 & n 12, p 59 & n 21), the births of Aphrodite and of Athena took pride of place on the base of the cult statue of Zeus at Olympia and in the east pediment of the Parthenon respectively. The births of these two goddesses are also popular subjects in Attic vase-painting, though for the most part the red-figure representations pre-date the Pheidian scenes and are not influenced by them.⁵⁶ But just as in the sculptural groups, so also in the vase scenes these goddesses at their birth are represented as adult and fully formed. The only other goddess whose birth or childhood is depicted in Classical art is Artemis: she cannot certainly be identified as a child in Attic vase-painting, and may appear in her adult form almost immediately after her birth to assist Leto at the birth of Apollo. (p 95)

A question thus presents itself as to why at their births the gods should be represented as children, whilst the goddesses appear in their adult state. It cannot be

that whilst the goddesses came into possession of their full adult faculties and the capacity to perform complex activities immediately after birth, the gods were considered to be helpless infants, for as we have seen the new-born Hermes and Apollo were capable of cattle-rustling and dragon-slaying respectively! Furthermore, just as several of the infant gods on vases of the fifth century look like diminutive adults, the vase-painters deliberately miniaturise the adult Athena to give her at least the semblance of a being new-born. In addition, the iconographic short-hand used by the red-figure artists to indicate to the viewer that the subject of the scene is a birth, is on several occasions the same for the goddesses as for the gods. A diminutive Athena is, for example, depicted in both black- and red-figure standing on the knee of her father Zeus (ch 1, n 4), just as the infant Dionysos perches on Zeus' knee on the Nausikaa Painter's pelike (4) (PL 2b), and similarly the infant Dionysos or Hephaistos on the Diosphos Painter's black-figure amphora. (ch1, n 2) And just as a mantle is held out by a figure waiting to receive the new-born Dionysos from Zeus' thigh on a fragment decorated by the Painter of the Athens Dinos (2) (PL 1b), so Aphrodite on a red-figure hydria rises to be greeted by Eros whilst a woman in attendance holds out a nebris to the new-born goddess.⁵⁷ A waiting figure holding out a mantle in which to receive a new-born child is also, of course, employed in scenes of the birth of Erichthonios. (44, 47, 49, 52)

In her review of EH Loeb Die Geburt der Götter, Susan

Woodford briefly addresses the question of why when the gods are born as babies, the goddesses are born as adults. She suggests that this might "be evidence of male myth-makers recalling their own helpless infancy and the adult competency of their mothers."⁵⁸ However, I feel that the answer is not so abstractly based in the understanding of the male psyche, as it is in the understanding of the social hierarchy of fifth century Athens and the place of women and children in that society. The adult citizen male was the measure of all things in fifth century Athens, and women and children were considered to be physically, morally and intellectually inferior to him.⁵⁹ There were, of course, powerful female goddesses whom the Athenians revered, but it seems to me highly likely that their representation as female children would have constituted too great an incongruity with the fifth century Athenian perception of the nature of divinity and have made the goddesses seem all too human. My hypothesis will, I believe, find further support when we turn to examine representations of the Greek mythological heroines as children. (see ch 5)

Artemis perhaps constitutes an exception, since she may appear as an infant one time each in Attic black- (ch 1, n 2) and red-figure (37), and was certainly represented as a child in at least two Classical sculpture groups. (p 93-4 & n 30-32) However, with the exception of her possible appearance on the black-figure amphora, all of these works date to the fourth century BC, by which time more liberal social attitudes towards women and children had taken root

and were, in turn, being reflected in art: Praxiteles' nude Aphrodite is another example of this.

The infancy of Dionysos was, as we have seen, a popular red-figure subject, but the rest of the gods depicted as children appear in total only fourteen times in the surviving red-figure corpus. Four of these vases, depicting the infant Ploutos (28, 39, 40, 41), were produced in the third quarter of the fourth century by a group of artists all loosely connected with the Marsyas Painter, and we find production of scenes depicting the infant Apollo similarly restricted to a related group of artists a century earlier. This circle of painters, working in the second quarter of the fifth century, included the Leto Painter who decorated a lekythos with the little Apollo (36), and the artists of the Beldam-Python Group who produced two very similar black-figure scenes depicting the infant god. (n 18)

As to other depictions of the childhood of the gods in black-figure, these are virtually non-existent, with only two vases - both of which are attributable to one very unusual artist, the Diosphos Painter - possibly showing the infant Artemis and Dionysos or Hephaistos. (Ch 1, n 2) The only common black-figure birth scene is that of Athena and she, as we have seen, is never depicted as an infant.

The iconography of the infant Hermes cradled in a liknon is unique. (31, 32) Although we know of the worship of Dionysos Liknites at Delphi, and once see a mask of

Dionysos propped in a liknon on a red-figure vase, we never again in red-figure see a child lying in a liknon cradle.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Hermes as a babe in arms presented by Iris before a second standing figure (33) is an iconographic schema familiar from scenes of the infant Dionysos. A similar schema is used for the delivery by Rhea of the "child Zeus" to Kronos (34, 35), and like the Dionysos-bearing Hermes on 17 and 19, Rhea on 34 rests one raised foot on a rock as she presents the child. Asklepios in the keeping of the nymphs (38), furthermore, is not far distant from scenes of the infant Dionysos in the care of the nymphs/maenads, although Asklepios' frontal stance is unusual. Also unusual in red-figure iconography is the completely swaddled bundle with which Rhea dupes Kronos (34, 35): elsewhere, as we shall see, with the possible exception of the infant Ajax (ch 3, n 87), children are only partially wrapped or draped. A completely swaddled baby is a clue to the viewer that something is afoot or that all is not quite as it seems. A fleeing woman carrying a child who wields a bow is an iconographic type peculiar to scenes of the infant Apollo (36), but the type of the fleeing woman carrying a child or children in her arms and turning back her head to look at her pursuer is one established in the fifth century in both vase-painting and sculpture (196 & n 29) and is reworked in fourth century vase-painting for the infant Apollo and Artemis. (37) Similarly reused in fourth century red-figure to depict the births of Ploutos and Zagreus (28, 42) is the iconographic schema created in the fifth century for Erichthonios' birth in which a chthonic figure hands up

the child to a second waiting figure. (44-48)

Close parallels exist between the birth myths of the gods who are depicted as children by the vase-painters. With the exception of Hermes and Ploutos all the other gods are threatened by enemies or catastrophe before and/or after their birth: both Zeus and Dionysos, for example, have to be protected by one parent from the wrath of the other parent or lawful consort, and both are hidden away and reared by faithful nymphs. Again, both Dionysos and Asklepios are rescued by a divine father from the smitten and smouldering corpse of a mortal mother, the birth of the divine child occurring at the same time as its mother dies and thus revealing the character of a god. The miraculous survival of the infant Apollo in the face of hostility also leaves us in no doubt as to his divine nature. Hermes' incredible childhood deeds are, on the other hand, not performed because he is under threat of menace, but because he wants to become a god and dwell among the immortals.⁶¹

In the fashion characteristic of divine and even heroic infants, the ancient sources tell us that Zeus and Hermes grow and develop at an abnormally rapid rate and soon come into possession of all their supernatural faculties.⁶² Also, once the new-born Apollo had been fed by Themis with the divine food of nectar and ambrosia, he was immediately endowed with fully developed physical and intellectual capabilities and able to go dragon-slaying.⁶³ The representation of the infant gods in vase-painting

appropriately shows them as alert and aware of what is happening even though, with the exception of Ploutos who may be represented as an older boy, they are mere babies. As is perhaps befitting to the remarkable feats of the little Hermes and Apollo, these two look more like diminutive youths than infants: but while these scenes depicting their childhood date to the first three quarters of the fifth century, the vase-painters of the late fifth and fourth centuries depicting Asklepios and Ploutos do produce more convincing childlike figures.

NOTES

1. On the iconography of the infant Hermes see LIMC V, Hermes: K Arafat Classical Zeus (1990), 59; K Schefold Die Göttersage in der klassischen & hellenistischen Kunst (1981), 46-8; R Blatter AntK 14 (1971), 128-9, pl 40; P Zanker Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der Attischen Vasenmalerei (1965), 60-64; M Fränkel AZ 43 (1885), 151-2.

2. See F Brommer Göttersagen in Vasenlisten (1980), 34-35, "Hermes als Rinderhirt", for a list of these vases.

3. Cup, London, British Museum E815, from Vulci, Nikosthenes Painter. ARV 125.15; Add 176; AntK 14 (1971), 128, pl 40, 2.

4. For a comprehensive treatment of the myth of Hermes as cattle thief in the Homeric Hymn and in vase-painting see N Yalouris ApXEd 1953-4, II, 162ff.

5. A black-figure Caeretan hydria also illustrates the myth - Paris, Louvre E702, ca 530. LIMC V, Hermes 241, pl 220; CVA Louvre 9, III Fa pl 8, 3-4 & pl 10, 1-7; K Schefold Götter und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst (1978), 21; Yalouris loc cit n 4, 173. To left, in a wooded hiding place, are the stolen cattle of Apollo; to right, within a cave or grotto, the swaddled little Hermes sleeps in his bed while Apollo and Maia argue above him - the bearded figure making a placatory gesture is most likely Zeus.

6. On the ancient literary sources for the infant Hermes see LIMC V, Hermes p 286; J Laager Geburt & Kindheit des Göttes in der griechischen Mythologie (1957), 151-55; AC Pearson The Fragments of Sophocles I (1917), 224-70.

7. In the Iliad Iris alone is the messenger of the gods. In the Odyssey Hermes has replaced Iris as divine messenger, and in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes 330-1, the infant Hermes is described as having the "look of a herald". From the mid-fifth century, Iris appears to be singularly associated with Hera, whilst Hermes takes the role of divine herald. See K Arafat BICS 33 (1986), 130; FJM De Waele The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity (1927), 30-33; K Watzinger Griechische Vasen in Tübingen (1924), 48 E106.

8. Red-figure skyphoi by the Lewis Painter in Leipzig University T638 (ARV 973.6) & T639 (ARV 973.5; Add 309) - both show Zeus with a sceptre of similar design to this. Red-figure skyphos in the Manner of the Lewis Painter in Salonika University (ARV 976.7) shows Apollo with sceptre.

9. Homeric Hymn to Hermes 528-532 - the kerykeion is there called παβδoς.

10. Sophokles' Ichneutae 271-2, trans by RJ Walker The Ichneutae of Sophocles (1919).

11. On the ancient literary sources for the myth see Laager op cit n 6, 156-194.

12. On the iconography of the child Zeus see Arafat op cit n 1, 62-3; Schefold op cit n 1, 23-7; Brommer op cit n 2, 42; EH Loeb Die Geburt der Götter (1979), 106-12; AB Cook Zeus III (1940), 927-38; K Wernicke AZ 43 (1885), 229-32.

13. Pausanias 8.47.3. A Schober Istanbuler Forschungen 2 (1933), 71; F Eichler ÖJh 19-20 (1919), 101; Roscher ML 4, 93; J Overbeck Atlas der griechische Kunstmythologie II (1871), 327, no 6.

14. Pausanias 2.17.3. AH Borbein Campanareliefs (1968), 156-7; G Lippold Die Griechische Plastik (1950), 201-2; Schober loc cit n 13, 71-2; Eichler loc cit n 13, 90-91, 100-103; Ch Waldstein The Argive Heraeum I (1902), 148-153; Overbeck op cit n 13, 322-25, no 1.

15. Pausanias 9.2.7. Cook op cit n 12, 932-33; J Overbeck op cit n 13, 325-6, no 3; Die schriftlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Kunst bei den Griechen (1868), no 1213; H Brunn Geschichte der griechischen Künstler I (1857), 337.

16. See JG Frazer Pausanias' Description of Greece III (1965), 438-441.

17. On the iconography of the infant Apollo see LIMC II, Apollo; Schefold op cit n 1, 42-6; O Palagia Euphranor (1980), 36ff; Loeb op cit n 12 - 13, 195 n 7; L G-Kahil in Mélanges Offerts à K Michalowsky (1966), 483-90; TH Schreiber Apollo Pythoktonos (1879).

18. Lekythos, black-figure on white-ground, Paris, Cab Méd 306, from Athens, Beldam-Python Group, second quarter of the fifth century. ABV 572.7; Para 294; Add 137; LIMC II, Apollon 993.
Lekythos, black-figure on white-ground, Bergen, Museum of Applied Art VK62.113, Beldam-Python Group, second quarter of the fifth century. Para 294; LIMC II, Apollon 994.

19. On the ancient literary sources for the myth see J Fontenrose Pythons: A Study of Delphic Myth & Its Origins (1959), 13-22; Laager op cit n 6, 54-111.

20. Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo 300-304. The Hymn dates probably to the seventh century; for a discussion of the dating see R Janko Homer, Hesiod & the Hymns (1982), 116-32; The Homeric Hymns ed by T W Allen, W R Halliday & E E Sikes (1936), 183-6.
In Simonides the dragon has become male and is called Python: see Fontenrose 15-16; Turk in Roscher ML "Python" 3402.

21. Lekythos, black-figure on white-ground, Paris, Louvre CA1915, Beldam-Python Group, second quarter of the fifth century. Para 294; Add 139; LIMC II, Apollon 998; Kahil loc cit n 17.

22. We know of another representation of the adult Apollo shooting Python: Pliny NH 34.19.59 describes a bronze sculpture by Pythagoras of Rhegion (active ca 490-448) depicting Apollo shooting the serpent Python with his arrows.

23. The Leto Painter lies somewhere near the Aischines Painter, who appears to come out of the Beldam Workshop. My thanks go to Brian Cook for a fruitful discussion of the Leto Painter and of his lekythos (36) in Berlin.

24.S Marstrander & A Seeberg CVA Norway 1, notes to pl 33.3-5

25. A D Trendall in Palagia op cit n 17, 36-39.

26.Black-figure neck-amphora, Paris, Louvre F226, from Vulci, Swing Painter, ca 540-20. ABV 308.66; Add 82.

For the various interpretations of this scene:-

Leto with Apollo and Artemis - L Kahil, LIMC II, Artemis 1261; E Pottier CVA Louvre 4 pl 42,3-4; Vases Antiques du Louvre (1897), 120, pl 80.

Aphrodite with her children - Palagia op cit n 17, 37 n 180; ABV 308.66.

Ariadne with Dinopion and Staphylos? - E Bohr Der Schaukelmaler (1982), 94, no 99, 101.

"Kourotrophos" - E Simon AntK 6 (1963), 13, n 45.

Although neither of the children seems in the illustrations to be distinguished as female by white-painted flesh or by a different coiffure, the child on the left - Apollo? - wears a short garment and has bare legs, while the child on the right, who is slightly bigger - Artemis? - is wrapped in a longer drapery.

27.For Ariadne with her children see, for example - amphora, British Museum 1836.2-24.42 (B168), ABV 142.3, Add 38; neck-amphora, British Museum B213, ABV 143.1, Para 59; neck-amphora, Vatican 359, ABV 142.

On Dinopion and Staphylos see further ch 4, p 340-47.

28.For Aphrodite with her offspring see, for example - skyphos fragments (inscribed), Athens National Museum, Akropolis Coll 603a-d, LIMC II, Aphrodite 1502, Artemis 1163; plaque (inscribed), Athens National Museum, Akropolis Coll 15131, LIMC II, Aphrodite 1255. Column-krater, Louvre C11260, LIMC II, Artemis 1265 probably shows Aphrodite with Eros and Himeros, and neck-amphora, Mississippi University 1977.3.61 A-B, AJA 60 (1956), pl 4 may represent either Aphrodite or Ariadne with their respective children.

29.Ch Hofkes-Brukker & A Mallwitz Der Bassai Fries (1975), 51-2

30. Palagia op cit n 17, 36-9 - includes earlier bibliography.

31.Ap Athenaeus XV.701 c-d, F Wehrli Die Schule des Aristoteles III (1969), Fr 64.

32.Rome - Museo Torlonia 68 and Conservatori, Mon Arc 31.

See Palagia op cit n 17; Schreiber op cit n 17, 69 f.

There is also another of these statuettes in Malibu, Getty Museum L.78.AA.4.

We also know from Strabo (14.1.20) of a statue group in Ephesos by Skopas which showed a standing Leto holding a sceptre, and accompanied by Ortygia, who carried the two children.

33.Compare this with the laurel branches on an Attic red-figure volute-krater, Bologna, Mus Civ 17190 (269), ARV 599.8; Add 266; bell-krater, Frankfurt, Mus für Vor- und Frühgeschichte 3413, ARV No 31 bis on 1683; Para 453; Add 331.

34.However, compare the comments of A B Cook in Zeus II (1925), 244, & n 4. Compare also the leafy shoots on the staffs of the maenad and old silen who flank Hermes with the infant Dionysos on Louvre kalyx-krater G478 (20).

35.Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo 14-18.

36.Kallimachos Diegesis on Aetia frag 79.

37.Red-figure polychrome tripod pyxis, Athens, National Museum 1635, from Eretria, 340-30. B Philippaki Vases of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens 134, fig 61.

38.For example - hydria, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 28.7, ARV 594.59: Add 265; pyxis, Ferrara 20298 (T27C VP), ARV 1277.22: Add 357; lekythos, Athens, National Museum 1626, ARV 663.

39.See LIMC II, Apollo 986, 991, 992, 1002.

40.For example - lekythos, Athens, National Museum 1203, ARV 714.162: Add 282; lekythos, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 54, LIMC II, Apollo 70; neck-amphora, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Mus. IV 741, ARV 203.101: Add 193; cup, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.356, ARV 741: Para 413: Add 283; hydria, Vatican Museum 16506, ARV 623.70: Add 271; oinochoe, St Petersburg, Hermitage 855, ARV 1207.31: Para 518: Add 345; cup, Athens National Museum, Akropolis Coll 352, ARV 643.128: Add 275.

41.Lily Kahil has suggested that the little figure dressed in a short chiton, held on the shoulder of a woman and flanked by two winged female figures on a black-figure tripod pyxis fragment from Brauron may be the infant Artemis - Brauron Museum 531: close to Lydos, mid-sixth century. L Kahil in LIMC II, Artemis 1263 & in W Moon, ed Ancient Greek Art and Iconography (1983), 240-41, fig 15.16. On the iconography of the infant Artemis see LIMC II, Artemis. See also n 17.

42.On the iconography of the infant Asklepios see LIMC II, Asklepios: L Burn The Meidias Painter (1987), 71, 100 Cat M33, pl 46: Schefold op cit n 1, 57-8 fig 70: D Cramers with E Simon AA 1978, 67-73.

43.See F R Walton in HSCP 46 (1935), 172-74.

44.See AW Pickard-Cambridge Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy 2 (1962), 52-3.

45.Pindar Pythian III, 1-46. Hesiod Catalogues of Women and Ehoiai - Loeb edition (HG Evelyn-White, 1954) frags 63, 88-89: R Merkelbach & M L West Fragmenta Hesiodica (1967), frags 50, 59-60.

The Homeric Hymn to Asklepios also refers to the parentage and birth of Asklepios.

See further LIMC II, Asklepios on the ancient literary sources for the birth and childhood of Asklepios.

46.On frontal faces in vase-painting see Y Korshak Frontal Faces in Attic Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period (1987).

47.Kalpis, London, British Museum E224, Meidias Painter, ca 410. ARV 1313.5, 1690: Para 477: Add 361: LIMC II, Aphrodite 41 & 1536; III, Dioskouroi 201.

48.Hesiod Theogony 969-74: Homeric Hymn to Demeter 486-9: Homer Odyssey 5.125-8.

49. On the iconography of Ploutos see LIMC III, Eirene: N Eschbach Statuen auf Panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4 Jhr BC (1986), 58-70, pl 16-19; Schefold op cit n 1, 64-5; H Metzger Les Représentations (1951), 106, 247, 254; Recherches (1965), 8, 34, 37, 38, 53, 74; B Grossman The Eleusinian Gods & Heroes in Greek Art (PhD, Washington 1959); O Walter DJh 30 (1937), 50-70.

50. E Simon AntK 9 (1966), 86 n 81; C Picard BCH 55 (1931) 40 n 1; E Pottier REG 32 (1919), 114.

51. H Metzger Les Représentations (1951), 47.

52. For the six Panathenaic amphorae naming the archon Kallimedes and dating to 360-59 see LIMC III, Eirene 6, pl 541.

A seventh Panatheniac amphora also shows the group of Eirene and Ploutos, but no archon name is here preserved: see LIMC III, Eirene 7. See also Eschbach op cit n 49.

53. Kephisodotos' Eirene and Ploutos is best preserved in a marble copy in Munich, Glyptothek 219. LIMC III, Eirene 8, pl 541. Pausanias 1.8.3 & 9.16.1-2.

See Ch Landwehr Die antiken Gipsabgüsse aus Baiae (1985) on the discovery of clay moulds for the infant Ploutos figure.

54. Hesiod and Homer, op cit n 48.

55. Chous, Berlin, Staatl Mus 2661, from Athens, Group of Athens 12144, ca 400. ARV 1321.3.

56. At her birth the miniature adult Athena emerges from the head of Zeus or stands on his knee, or the full-size adult Athena stands before Zeus. Many gods may attend her birth, but Hephaistos with his axe, Eileithyia, and sometimes Demeter, are common. The subject appears frequently in black-figure, and is found on a few red-figure vases from the first half of the fifth century.

On the iconography of the birth of Athena see Arafat op cit n 1, 32-9; LIMC II, Athena I 985-90; S Pingiatoglou Eileithyia (1981), 14-19; Schefold op cit n 1, 19-23; op cit n 5, 12-20; Brommer op cit n 2, 10; Loeb op cit n 12, 14-27; D Aebli Klassischer Zeus (1971), 83-88.

The birth of Aphrodite first appears about 460 on Attic red-figure vases. The type of her birth falls into three categories - anodos, birth/rising from the sea, and emergence from a shell - but in each she is represented as an adult woman. Eros is often present to help or greet her: sometimes he is joined by a woman or is replaced by two women. In the fourth century she may ride in an opening scallop shell. On the iconography of the birth of Aphrodite see Arafat op cit n 1, 30-32; LIMC II, Aphrodite; Schefold op cit n 1, 75-85; Brommer op cit n 2, 1-2; Loeb op cit n 12, 60-105; C Bérard Anodoi (1974), 153-60; Aebli 130-33; G Devereux in J Pouillon-P Maranda, eds Echanges et communications. Mélanges offerts à Cl Lévi Strauss 2 (1970), 1229-48; E Simon Der Geburt der Aphrodite (1959).

57. Hydria, Genoa, Mus Civico 1155, Painter of Bologna 417, ca 460-50. ARV 917.206; Fara 430; Add 304.

58. S Woodford's review of Loeb (op cit n 12) in JHS 101 (1981), 221-2.

59. On the status of, and attitudes towards, children in fifth century Athens see p 31, n 1.

On the status of, and attitudes towards, women in fifth century Athens see D Cohen Greece & Rome 36 (1989), 3-15; VJ Hunter Echos du Monde Classique 33 (1989), 39-48; R Just Women in Athenian Law & Life (1989); E Cantarella Pandora's Daughters: The Role & Status of Women in Greek & Roman Antiquity, translated by MB Fant (1987); J Peradotto & JP Sullivan, eds Women in the Ancient World (1984); J Gould JHS 100 (1980), 38-59; SB Pomeroy Goddesses, Whores, Wives & Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity (1975); AW Gomme Classical Philology 20 (1925), 1-25.

60. Chous, Athens, Vlasto Coll, Eretria Painter. ARV 1249.13: Add 354. On Dionysos Liknites see Laager op cit n 6, 117-19; G van Hoorn Choes & Anthesteria (1951), 24-5; M Nilsson Bulletin de la Société royale de Lund 2 (1951), 1ff. On the liknon and its use as a cradle see JE Harrison JHS 23 (1903), 292-324; G van Hoorn De vita atque cultu puerorum (1909), 9.

61. Homeric Hymn 4 to Hermes, 167-75.

62. For Zeus see Hesiod Theogony 492-3.
For Hermes see above n 10.

63. Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo 123-35.

PART TWO

HEROIC CHILDREN

Chapter Three

Attic Heroes

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the various Attic heroes who are represented as children in Attic red-figure vase-painting. We have some forty-six such representations in preserved red-figure, and amongst these the most frequently appearing child is Erichthonios, who was perhaps the most autochthonous Attic hero, and an ancient king of Athens. Heraklian children, namely the great hero himself, his twin brother Iphikles and his son Hyllos, provide another frequently depicted collection of heroic Attic youth. Also considered as Heraklian children, due to their close, youthful association with Herakles are Lichas and Philoktetes. The Eleusinian children Eumolpos, Mousaios and Hippothoon further appear in red-figure, as does one of the Attic deme heroes, Kephalos, and probably also the phyle hero, Ajax. Also considered in this chapter are red-figure representations of the young Triptolemos and Theseus, and these, along with Herakles, provide an opportunity to explore the iconography of the adolescent figure. Possible representations of mythological Attic heroines are considered in chapter five.

ERICHTHONIOS

The birth and childhood of the Attic hero Erichthonios, like that of so many other Greek heroes and gods, was not a simple or trouble-free affair. The well-known story relates how Athena shunned the embraces of Hephaistos; while the chaste daughter of Zeus thus retained her virginity, Earth instead was fertilised by the fallen sperm of Hephaistos, and in due time brought forth the babe Erichthonios - a true pedigree indeed for an Attic king. Athena received the child from Ge and undertook the role of foster mother, committing him for safe-keeping to a chest with a guardian serpent (or serpents), before bidding the daughters of Kekrops - Pandrosos, Herse and Aglauros - to watch over the chest without opening it. But curiosity got the better of Herse and Aglauros, who in opening the casket, sealed their own doomed fate.¹

Attic red-figure vase-painting preserves ten certain representations of the birth and childhood of Erichthonios.² These are spread evenly over the years between 470-400 BC. (44-50, 52-54) Five further red-figure vases probably also depict the childhood of the hero. (51, 55-58) The theme seems to have been less popular in Attic black-figure, in which style only three certain examples survive.³ Interestingly these, like the red-figure depictions, also date to the fifth century: two of them are loutrophoros fragments from the Athenian Akropolis and date to the second half of the fifth century. They exhibit the same picture

type popular in red-figure in which a female figure, Ge, usually half-emerged from the ground, holds up a child to present him to Athena. The choice of the black-figure technique at this late date is explained by the provenance of the fragments. Just as Panathenaic amphorae and funerary lekythoi continue for conservative ritual reasons to be decorated in black-figure long after red-figure had otherwise replaced the old technique, the black-figure style was similarly appropriate for votive dedications such as these on the Athenian Akropolis. The choice of the birth of the Attic hero Erichthonios as subject matter was also singularly appropriate for a dedication in this location.

Our earliest vase which certainly depicts the birth of Erichthonios, a black-figure lekythos from Sicily (n 3), dating to around 480, is already painted with the canonical picture type for the subject: Ge, half-emerged from the ground, facing to right, delivers the baby to Athena who, standing facing to left, stoops slightly and holds out her arms to receive the child. The onlookers here are fish-tailed Kekrops and a standing man, probably Hephaistos. This iconographic scheme is taken up by the red-figure artists, and next appears about 470-60 on a kalpis in the British Museum by the Oinante Painter. (44) (PL 28b) Ge is again half-emerged from the ground and holds up the infant, naked but for a string of amulets slung around his torso, to Athena, who is about to take and wrap him in a warm mantle.

Although this central group is repeated several times

in Attic red-figure representations of the subject (44-48 inclusive), the bystanders vary. Here there are three; behind Athena, a winged female hurries forward towards the central group, carrying a fillet in her outstretched hands; she is probably Nike come to celebrate the birth. Behind Ge, standing frontally in very relaxed pose with right hand on hip, is Zeus, unmistakable with the large thunderbolt which he holds out above Ge and the child: he turns his head in profile towards the centre to watch intently the handing over of the child to Athena. Behind Zeus, again standing in very relaxed pose with hand on hip, and related to Zeus in very casual fashion by the hand which she rests on his shoulder, is another female figure, clad in flimsy chiton, her unadorned hair tied up in a kind of pony-tail at the back. Above her is written OINANΘEKAΔE. Some commentators⁴ have understood this inscription to identify the woman as a nymph, Oinante, and taking this in conjunction with the presence of Zeus, have interpreted the scene as a birth of Dionysos. But the picture type is rather that of the birth of Erichthonios; of this we can be sure since the Berlin cup (46) (PL 30) with a similar central composition actually names the child as Erichthonios. Also there, as here, and again on the Munich stamnos (45) (PL 29a), Athena has thrown her aegis back over her shoulder so as not to alarm the child. I have indeed tentatively identified as Dionysos Zagreus the child handed to Hermes by a female figure half-emerged from the ground on a pelike in the Hermitage (28) (PL 19b) (see p 60-63), and again the infant being delivered to Hermes by a woman, who though fully visible is placed on

a lower level than the god and who may therefore be intended to be understood as a chthonic figure, on a now lost cup or plate once in the Hamilton Collection. (29) (PL 20a) (see p 63-4) But in both these scenes, it is Hermes, not Athena, who receives the child from the rising female figure: Athena never holds the infant Dionysos in extant Attic red-figure iconography. Furthermore, whilst the London kalpis was painted around 470-60, both the Hermitage pelike and the lost cup/plate date to the fourth century, and belong to a later, somewhat different iconographic type.

That the London kalpis therefore depicts the birth of Erichthonios is not in question; but what might be the identity of the woman leaning on Zeus' shoulder? ΟΙΝΑΝΘΕ ΚΑΛΕ may well be a kale inscription, rather than the name of the woman pictured below it. A B Cook thought she might be Hebe, and K Arafat puts forward Aphrodite as a possible identity⁵. But is it not more likely that she is either Pandrosos, the sister who refrained from opening the chest of Erichthonios, or Herse who, similarly attired, appears (name inscribed) in the scene of the birth of Erichthonios on the Berlin cup? (46) Her two sisters are also depicted on the reverse side of the same vase. All three sisters, again dressed in the same fashion, are probably shown on the squat lekythos in Cleveland. (49) (PL 32) Nevertheless, it is hard to account for the gesture of familiarity towards Zeus exhibited by the woman on the London kalpis.

The same basic scene recurs on a stannos in Munich (45)

(PL 29a), decorated around 460 BC by a painter not far from Hermonax. Erichthonios, again naked, takes up a slightly different pose, and with his fuller, more rounded body is a more convincing infant figure. The by-stander here is the father, Hephaistos, who adopts a very similar pose to that of Zeus on the London kalpis, one hand resting nonchalantly on hip as he observes the proceedings. Nike and Zeus again appear, though here on the reverse of the vase, rather than as immediate onlookers. The scenes on both sides of the stamnos are framed by four little Erotes, themselves depicted as very youthful figures. Some twenty years later, about 440-30, the Kodros Painter decorated a cup in Berlin (46) (PL 30) with the same central group of Ge, Erichthonios and Athena, and chose as immediate spectators fish-tailed Kekrops, Hephaistos - again adopting the same easy pose with hand on hip as Hephaistos on (45) and Zeus on (44), except here in mirror image - and Herse. Continuing the scene on the other side of the vase, he added Aglauros, Erechtheus, Pandrosos, Aigeus and Pallas - a full cast of characters. Luckily for us, he inscribed all the figures with their names. The scene in the tondo of the cup is Kephalos carried off by Eos, with the names again inscribed. This combination on the same vase of scenes of the birth of Erichthonios, and of Eos and Kephalos occurs also on the Palermo kalyx-krater (47) (PL 29b) and the Richmond Virginia kalyx-krater (48) (PL 31); as J Oakley has pointed out,⁶ Kephalos, according to Apollodoros (3.14.3), was the son of Hermes and Herse, which may suggest a reason for this particular combination of scenes.

The birth of Erichthonios is repeated again around the end of the fifth century, employing the same basic schema and a cast of familiar characters, on a kalyx-krater in Palermo which was decorated by an artist near the Talos Painter. (47) (PL 29b) The spectators here are Hephaistos and Kekrops, and two little Nikai hover above the scene with garlands. There is the addition of the sacred olive tree of Athena, which also appeared earlier on one of the black-figure loutrophoros fragments (1191) from the Akropolis (n 3) and again in very abbreviated form on the Virginia kalyx-krater (48), to leave us in no doubt about where the event is taking place.

The Nikias Painter's kalyx-krater in Virginia was also decorated towards the end of the fifth century. (48) (PL 31) The central group of Athena, Ge and Erichthonios remains much the same, but its significance as the focus of the scene has been emphasised by the use of white paint for the infant's flesh. Oakley points out that the Nikias Painter elsewhere also uses white paint as a device for depicting important figures⁷. The child figure itself then is here made the central focus of the picture, just as the Meidias Painter made the infant Asklepios the central focus of his composition on 38 (PL 25a) by depicting the child in fully frontal pose. The audience to the proceedings has again expanded; Zeus, Nike, and Hephaistos once more adopting that much used relaxed pose of hand on hip, are familiar and Aphrodite, as goddess of love ultimately responsible for the birth, appropriately finds her place to right of the central

group. She had been foreshadowed by the Erotes on the Munich stamnos (45), and Arafat suggests (n 5) that she had already appeared on the London kalpis (44). Most of the characters in the scene are readily identifiable by their attributes, but the painter has also inscribed their names in white paint. The only figures, beside the owl, who lack a label are Ge and Erichthonios, which might suggest that the picture type was so familiar to a late fifth century viewer that he would know at a glance who they were. Hermes appears for the first time, and apart from being relevant as one of the divine onlookers witnessing the birth, is no stranger as a benign presence at scenes of divine or heroic epiphany; we have already seen him playing his part in the birth of Dionysos and will encounter him again with the infant Herakles and Achilles. (see ch 1, n 38) Also introduced into the scene here are Apollo and a youthful, seated male figure, whom Oakley identifies as Epimetheus. Oakley interprets the presence of Apollo, the tripod atop a column by his side and the owl who flies towards us grasping an olive wreath in his talons, as suggesting that the scene reflects a victorious dithyramb composed on the theme of the birth of Erichthonios.⁶ This is certainly an interesting and plausible theory, and I have already noted the likelihood of a similarly dithyramb-inspired vase-painting of the birth of Asklepios (38) only some ten years or so earlier. On the Richmond vase, however, it must be remembered that Apollo is only one of five divine onlookers in the scene, and that the tripod by his side may simply be present as one of his attributes. Admittedly, the tripod is perched on top of a

column, but if it is symbolic of a dithyrambic victory it is rather isolated from the proceedings which the supposed dithyramb would have celebrated. Situated at the very extreme edge of the birth scene and connected to it only by its proximity to Apollo, it is almost as much related to the picture on the reverse of the vase depicting Eos and Kephalos. As for the owl with the wreath, could he not simply, as Athena's owl, be symbolic of the land of Attica, here celebrating the birth of her most autochthonos son? The question of dithyrambic inspiration must, I think, remain open.

Also painted towards the end of the fifth century, but with a marked variation in the picture type which we have seen used thus far for the birth of Erichthonios, is a squat lekythos in Cleveland by the Meidias Painter. (49) (PL 32) The figure here interpreted as Ge is no half-emerged figure rising from the ground, but is fully visible and seated comfortably in a setting which abounds with olive branches. Neils⁹ suggests that she may be the personification of the land of Attica, though representations of Attike are very rare in extant Attic red-figure.¹⁰ Another novel feature of the Meidias Painter's birth of Erichthonios is the pose adopted by Athena: thus far we have seen a still, calm figure, usually stooping slightly to take the infant from Ge. Here, however, she rushes forward to receive the child. The composition of the onlookers is also unusual in this scene: not only are there a far greater number of spectators, twelve in all, but they are all women: the

Meidias Painter has taken the familiar story of the birth of Erichthonios and combined it with his own preference for scenes of women. It seems probable that the three half-hidden figures who watch the scene from above left are the Kekropids. The other women are most likely Aphrodite and her retinue, or Aphrodite and the personifications of those blessings and qualities - Hygieia, Eutychia, Peitho and so on - which would be auspicious at the birth of a king and hero.¹¹

The Meidias Painter decorated another vase, a type C pyxis from Athens, with scenes from the Erichthonios myth.¹² (50) (PL 33a) The lid, though fragmentary, must have depicted the birth of Erichthonios whilst the body illustrated the discovery of the child and the punishment of the disobedient Kekropids by Athena. More of the scene on the body anon, but for the moment let us direct our attention to the picture on the lid. This bears the inscriptions ΚΕΚΡΟΨ, ΒΑΣΙΛΗ, ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, ΑΘΗΝΑ and ΕΡΥΧΘΟΝΙΟΣ]. Kekrops, Athena and Erichthonios are, of course, familiar to us from other illustrations of the birth of Erichthonios, but Basile and Soteria are unique figures in extant Attic red-figure representations of the myth. In fact, we know little about Basile at all, except that she shared a sanctuary in Athens with Kodros and Neleus, but the Meidias Painter's vase makes it clear that she cannot be equated with Basileia, since the latter appears with her name inscribed on the pyxis body.¹³ However, Soteria, symbolic of safety/salvation, takes her place amongst those

personifications of abstract qualities and attributes so popular with the Meidias Painter and his Circle¹⁴, and is most appropriate in a scene of the birth or childhood of Erichthonios, the great mythical king of Athens who, as such, embodied the security of the land of Attica. Although the surviving fragments show no sign of Ge, traces of two snakes and the inscription naming Erichthonios make it almost certain that the hero's birth was here depicted.

Yet another vase from the hand of the Meidias Painter may also depict a moment from the childhood of Erichthonios. Like the vessel in Cleveland (49), it is a squat lekythos: found in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros, it is now in the Athens National Museum. (51) (PL 33b) It is in a very fragmentary state, and the restoration suggested by G Kokkorou-Alevra¹⁵ is speculative: she reconstructs a scene of ten figures, amongst which a seated Ge and standing Athena converse quietly, and Aphrodite and a hovering Eros and a seated and standing woman look on. To left of these figures, forming a second group, she proposes one seated and two standing females, one of whom supports a child in the crook of her arm: these she interprets as the Kekropids with the infant Erichthonios. My examination of the lekythos fragments in the Athens National Museum showed that the child, of whom only the left thigh and a portion of the lower torso survives, is naked rather than draped as in Kokkorou-Alevra's reconstruction. Although the reconstruction of the scene is uncertain, the fragments certainly preserve parts of an Athena, a woman with a child

in her arms, a seated figure with sceptre, an Eros and olive (?) branches. The identification of the scene of which they once formed a part is far from clear, but I include it in my catalogue of vases depicting the birth and childhood of Erichthonios since it is clearly a mythological scene and I can offer no more likely interpretation. Furthermore, since we know of two certain illustrations of the myth by the Meidias Painter (49, 50), it is not unlikely that he painted a third. However, considering that we have one certain representation of the infant Asklepios painted by the Meidias Painter (38), and bearing in mind that the fragmentary squat lekythos in Athens was found at Epidauros (-albeit in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas-), it is possible that this vase depicted the child Asklepios with his attendants: the presence of Athena could then perhaps be significant in demonstrating the recent introduction and acceptance of his cult into Athens.

It is perhaps tempting to see reflections of the Erichthonios theme in the work of the wider Meidian circle. A fragment, perhaps of a hydria, by the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris preserves the upper part of a seated goddess with a sceptre, a second sceptre of some now lost figure below her, the draped body of a standing woman, and the inscription ΑΓΑΥΡΟΣ.¹⁶ Three squat lekythoi painted in the Manner of the Meidias Painter show women with a crawling child in a garden. (60, 61, 62) (PLS 39 & 40) (see p 155-7) Burn has put forward the suggestion that at least on the London lekythos (60) (PL 39), where the women are more

richly attired, we may be looking at "Erichthonios with his attendant nymphs".¹⁷ Each scene contains a tree, which could be interpreted as Athena's sacred olive and which appears elsewhere in scenes of the birth and childhood of Erichthonios (47, 49, 50), and thus may add weight to the identification. But we also find very similar trees depicted by painters of the Meidian Circle in non-Attic contexts¹⁸ and, as I have observed in chapter two (p 94-6) when writing about scenes of the infant Apollo, the identification of individual species of flora in Attic red-figure is fraught with difficulties. Nor do the scenes on our three squat lekythoi accord with any assured iconographic schema for the childhood of Erichthonios. The iconography of these three vases, especially that of the London lekythos, seems to me rather to have more similarities with that of a white-ground squat lekythos in Kansas by the Eretria Painter (59) (PL 38), which shows the baby Kephalos in the care of Eunomia, Paidia, Peitho and Antheia. On the other hand, the preponderance of scenes of women in the work of the Meidias Painter and his followers might suggest that these three lekythoi are simply to be added to their corpus of vignettes of women's life, though for reasons I will explain later, I think this is less likely. (see p 156-7)

We return with certainty to the birth of Erichthonios with the scene on a fragmentary pelike in Leipzig. (52) (PL 34a) Painted around 470-60, it differs from the usual picture type for the subject in that the woman who is half-

emerged from the ground has already delivered the child into the arms of a woman who stands upright behind her. Unfortunately, the upper part of this figure is not preserved, and bears no attributes that might identify her as Athena, though it is most likely to be she. She appears to hold out the child to a figure who stands facing them holding a phiale - could this be the father, Hephaistos? Again, too little is preserved to secure an identification. To left of this group parts of the drapery of two more figures survive. The reverse of the vase showed a subsequent moment in the childhood of Erichthonios: the discovery of the child by the Kekropids and their flight from Athena. Once more, we have only a few fragments of the picture: these show the bottom half of a basket perched on a low rock, with the basket lid propped up against it on its side - presumably, the child and/or the snake(s) were depicted emerging from the container. To left, two figures run off, and a small part of a third can be made out on the right.

The same combination of scenes appears to be repeated on the late fifth century pyxis from Athens by the Meidias Painter - the birth of Erichthonios on the lid and the discovery of the child and the punishment of the Kekropids on the body. (50) (PL 33a) The body furnishes inscriptions for thirteen figures - ΠΥΔΙΟΣ, ΧΡΥΣΗΙΣ, ΕΥΝΟΗ, ΘΥΔΟ...ΝΟΗ, ΕΡΜΗΣ, ΝΙΚΗ, ΝΥΣΗΙΣ, ΚΕΚΡΟΨ, ΗΡΣΗ, ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ, ΑΓΔΑΥΡΟΣ, ΑΘΗΝΑ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ. The one figure apparently lacking an inscription is the little Erichthonios himself; he is to be seen emerging from his chest or basket at the base of

Athena's olive tree.¹⁹ His iconography is unique, for two snakes coil about his whole body, which is white-painted, and rear their heads against the offending Kekropids. The child raises his left hand to grasp the upper body of one of his serpentine protectors, and Athena rushes up from the right, fully armed, and stretches out her right arm in the direction of the fleeing sisters.

Since the vase is as yet unpublished it is difficult to analyse its iconography, but such a large and unusual cast of characters as we have here would be extraordinary at the birth of Erichthonios. I wonder, therefore, whether the figures on the pyxis body might be divided into two scenes. Kekrops, Herse, Pandrosos, Aglauros, Erichthonios and Athena would then constitute the discovery of Erichthonios, along with Basileia who, though making a unique appearance here in such a scene, finds an appropriate place as the personification of sovereignty at the birth of the mythical Athenian king. (n 13 & 14) Chryseis, Eunoe, Phylonoe, Hermes, Nike and Nyseis would then form a second scene, but its subject eludes me.²⁰ Pylios seems to stand between Basileia and Chryseis at the junction of the two scenes.

Fragments of a red-figure cup in the Louvre preserve an excerpt from another illustration of the same subject. (53) (PL 34b) We see a small naked boy emerging from the lower half of a basket to stretch out his arms to an approaching figure, now lost except for a spear - this must have been Athena. A female figure stands behind the basket with arms

raised, perhaps one of the miscreant Kekropids, and the lid of the basket stands propped up against its lower half. Beazley connected these fragments with the myth of Danae and Perseus, but Oakley is correct in reattributing them to the Erichthonios myth - the infant is contained in a basket, not a chest like that depicted in red-figure illustrations of the Danae and Perseus myth (see ch 4, p 269 & n 15), and a spear-bearing figure plays no part in the iconographic tradition created around the Danae and Perseus myth.

The discovery of the infant Erichthonios by the Kekropids and/or their punishment by Athena is shown certainly on seven Attic red-figure vases which, produced between about 480-400, span more or less the same years as those vases illustrating his birth and childhood.²¹ There is no established picture type for the subject, and only two vases - the Athens pyxis (50) and the Louvre cup fragments (53) (PL 34b) - show the child himself at the moment of discovery. His basket appears on the Leipzig pelike fragment (52), and again with the addition of a snake on a lekythos in Basle. A cup in Frankfurt painted by an artist close to the Brygos and Castelgiorgio Painters depicts a large and fearsome snake chasing Herse and Aglauros, whilst a column-krater by the Orchard Painter in a private American collection makes no allusion to the child, basket or snake, but simply shows Athena pursuing the disobedient sisters.

A pelike in London by the Erichthonios Painter (54) (PL 35a) presents us with an engaging picture of the infant

Erichthonios, wrapped in himation and perched in his open chest or basket on top of a rocky mound, raising his right hand in greeting to his foster-mother Athena, who approaches clad in a simple peplos and carrying her spear and helmet in hand. Two snakes emerge from the rocks to guard the child, and the basket lid lies to one side. The two rearing snakes here are comparable to those on the Meidias Painter's pyxis (50), but they do not coil around the child's body. The reverse of the pelike bears a sketchy scene of two himation-draped boys running off to right. Several commentators have categorised this vase amongst those which depict the discovery of the infant Erichthonios and the punishment of the Aglaurids, seeing the two disobedient sisters in the figures on the reverse. (n 21) Beazley in ARV (1218.1) suggests confusion on the part of the painter, commenting that the two running youths "should have been Herse and Aglauros, but they are male". Whether or not the painter was adequately conversant with the mythology, or whether the two sketchy figures were simply stock motifs used for decorating the reverse of a vase is hard to tell, and I prefer to number this vase amongst those which show the little Erichthonios in the care of Athena.

We may also be looking at a confusion of mythological elements - the infant Erichthonios being one - in a picture painted in the mid-fifth century on a kalpis in the Louvre. (55) (PL 35b) There we see an altar, from the top of which appears a child's head, his arms reaching out to two fearsome snakes. His gesture can be compared to that of

the little Erichthonios grasping one of the snakes on the Meidias Painter's pyxis. (50) He looks to right in the direction of Athena who, turning her helmeted head - with its crest supported by another serpent - back over her shoulder to look at the child, makes off to right with a second woman. On the left side of the altar, Herakles in lion skin has dropped his club, and ready to flee to left is half-turned back to grasp one of the serpents which, with his sickle in the other hand, he obviously means to behead. Herakles has no part to play in the Erichthonios tale, Athena should not be running away from her small charge, and Erichthonios appears nowhere else perched on an altar. Could it be that the painter has mixed up three "serpentine" stories? Namely, the discovery of the baby Erichthonios with his guardian snakes, the strangling by the infant Herakles of the serpents sent by Hera to destroy him (see ch 3, p 176-83), and the slaying by the adult Herakles of the Lernaean hydra with just such a sickle as he uses here.²² Schmidt, on the other hand, advances the theory that we have here a picture with cultic significance, related to the worship of the various gods and heroes served by the genos of the Salaminioi - Herakles, Athena, Ge Kourotophos (-represented by the altar), Aglauros (-perhaps the second fleeing female figure) and, by association, Erichthonios.²³ But this does still not explain why Herakles is attacking one of the snakes, and Athena is running away from the other. The other possibility is that suggested by Kron: that the picture reflects a mythological parody devised for the theatre.²⁴ The sketchy, rather cartoonish execution of the

representation may support this theory, and may be compared to the similarly odd draughtsmanship of a red-figure kalpis in the British Museum, painted some ten or twenty years earlier than the Louvre kalpis again by a Mannerist painter (183) (PL 108), and which I believe shows the death of Dryas at the hands of Lykourgos. (see p 374-5) Both vases bear violent scenes with fleeing figures. Note the strange drawing of Athena's right hand on our vase and of Dionysos' left hand on the British Museum kalpis. I think it is possible that the BM vase reflects the satyr play from Aischylos Lykourgeia, and I wonder whether the Louvre vase might similarly have been inspired by a satyr play. Herakles appears to have a rather satyr-like ear, although the quality of the drawing is so sketchy that this might be a misinterpretation of his features.

A small red-figure lekythos in the Louvre probably repeats the theme of the little Erichthonios in the care of Athena. (56) (PL 36a) The goddess, wearing helmet and aegis, stands facing to left, holding up in front of her a small child with short hair. Like the Erichthonios child in his basket on the London pelike (54), he is dressed in a himation and raises a hand in greeting to his protectress. The drawing is very sketchy, but Athena's spear seems to be propped up behind her, and a further very hastily drawn object almost looks like her shield supported against a half-pillar.

The tondo of a beautiful fragmentary cup from the

Athenian Akropolis, painted by an artist near the Penthesilea Painter, preserves parts of a standing woman, and before her the unusual figure of a little boy drinking from a richly-ornamented phiale. (57) (PL 37a) The woman, dressed in a finely decorated chiton, wearing a diadem on her head, and carrying what may be a spear or sceptre, is possessed of no particular attributes, but can fairly safely be recognised as Athena by the picture context: her owl sits on an olive branch to her left, and the olive motif is repeated in the tondo border. Furthermore, as Kron has noted, Athena is depicted in similar fashion by the Penthesilea Painter on a pyxis in New York.²⁵ Our Athena here probably also carried a spear, rather than a sceptre. The boy, similarly imbued with Attic significance by the olive wreath he wears, had long been mooted as Erichthonios, but almost certain confirmation of this identification came only when Simon made the connection between this tondo picture and the depiction on a late fifth century black-figure loutrophoros fragment, also from the Akropolis.²⁶ (PL 37b) This shows a white-painted tubby little child with long curly black hair, naked but for a yellow-painted string of amulets, standing facing left and reaching out to grasp a large phiale which is being offered to him by a figure before him and of whom only two white-painted hands, a spear or staff and a tiny portion of garment remain. The child stands on a raised object so that he attains the arm level of the adult, presumably standing, figure facing him. Rearing up beside the child is what seems to be a black-painted snake. The child will then be Erichthonios and the

figure offering him the phiale will be Athena, resting on her spear. The black-glazed areas of the loutrophoros fragment bear many incised lines which, drawn so lightly that they barely score the underlying clay, do not show in photographs of the piece. However, my examination of the fragment in the Athens National Museum confirmed that the object on which the child stands has been incised with criss-cross lines, which may be intended to indicate the wicker-work of the basket in which the infant Erichthonios was hidden. But if this is a basket, it is strange that the child perches on, rather than in, it - compare the Louvre cup fragments (53) (PL 34b) and the British Museum pelike (54) (PL 35a), where Erichthonios is only half visible as he emerges from his casket. Rising vertically behind the child on the loutrophoros fragment is a black area. The vertical edge is incised with a careless running maeander motif, and Kron suggests that this is the decorative pattern on the basket lid, which has been propped open behind the child: she compares a similar pattern on the basket lid on the Leipzig pelike fragment.²⁷ (52) (PL 34a) Light incised lines can also be traced on the phiale held out to the child, outlining the decorative patterns of the metal vessel, and are used to pick out the snake's eye.

It would seem from the similarity in the iconography of the loutrophoros fragment and the cup, that both present us with further scenes of the young Erichthonios in the care of Athena. As such, these vases were eminently suitable to be dedicated on the Akropolis. The most likely interpretation

of the scenes is that Athena, as kourotophos, has given her small charge a phiale of nectar and ambrosia - "that divine heavenly food" - to drink, much as was given to divine offspring to make them grow swiftly and strong.²⁸ Kardara sees the picture in the cup tondo as Erichthonios making an offering or sacrifice to Athena on the occasion of his founding of the Panathenaia in her honour.²⁹ Kron quite rightly observes (n 27) that if this were the case, he would pour out his libation rather than drink it, and points out that Kardara has failed to take into account the evidence of the scene on the loutrophoros fragment. But Kardara is correct in pointing out the very noticeable similarities between the boy on our cup and the child who either gives or receives the peplos in the centre of the east side of the Parthenon frieze. The execution of the visible bodily forms, with very pronounced waistline, giving way to a full flaring upper back above and pert rounded bottom below, with well-muscled rear thigh, is almost identical. The general stance of the figures is not at all dissimilar, and the himation of both is draped over the shoulders to fall open down the left side, revealing the rear half of the naked body underneath. Although I draw no conclusions from this observation as to the much-debated identity of the child on the Parthenon frieze, I believe that it lends weight to the argument for the gender of the frieze child as being male.³⁰

Fragmentary though the Akropolis cup is, we can ascertain from the placing of the figures of Athena and Erichthonios that there was ample room for a third figure on

the left side of the tondo, unfortunately now lost. Indeed, Athena looks not at the child, but turns her head towards this left side. Here may perhaps have been Hephaistos or Zeus, though due to the limitations of the available tondo space they would have to be seated: alternatively here may have been fish-tailed Kekrops.

Scheibler proposes an interesting, though probably unlikely, explanation for the tondo picture by connecting it with the Oskophoria festival.³¹ Though much debated, it seems that this was a festival both of Dionysos and, through the offices of the Salaminioi, of Athena Skiras.³² She points out that the winner of the boys' race was given to drink ceremonially from a phiale,³³ and proposes that the cup tondo shows Athena with such a boy victor, who also as Erichthonios is representative of the youth of Athens. (In this case, could Dionysos have been the missing figure on the left side of the tondo?) But there are difficulties here: it is not certain that the boys' race of which Scheibler speaks actually formed part of the Oskophoria, or whether it belonged to the Skirophoria festival.³⁴ Furthermore, if the cup tondo does reflect the Oskophoria, why was the vase dedicated to Athena in her sanctuary on the Akropolis, rather than in her more relevant sanctuary at Phaleron?

However, it is interesting in this context to recall Schmidt's interpretation of the scene on the Louvre kalpis (55) (PL 35b) (n 23): there the presence of a child

(Erichthonios?) on an altar (Ge Kourotrophos?) between snakes, Herakles, Athena and a second woman (Aglauros?) is explained by the connection of their various cults - that of Erichthonios by association with the others - with the priestly services of the genos of the Salaminioi. Could it be that the Louvre kalpis and the Akropolis cup, both painted in the mid-fifth century, present us with pictures which possessed cultic significance for the Salaminioi clan? On balance, though this is an interesting theory, I think the evidence supporting it is too ambiguous and the argument in its favour too tenuous and convoluted.

A final red-figure vase which probably also shows the little Erichthonios in the care of Athena also comes from the Athenian Akropolis. (58) (PL 36b) The cup tondo, which has a white ground, is very fragmentary, but preserves parts of an Athena with aegis and spear, a huge snaky body, a large tree bearing fruits in relief clay work, and a little figure in a short chiton. Athena, the snake and the tree stand on a horizontal ground line, but the youth to right is positioned on a higher level, probably as a result of being placed on the rising frame of the tondo. Unfortunately, only parts of his right arm and leg and a bit of the chiton he wears survive, but it is enough to bring to mind the young Theseus in the tondo of Onesimos' cup in the Louvre (see n 163). (PL 56a) There Theseus, also in the presence of Athena, is shown wearing just such a short chiton, finely pleated and rather frilly along its uneven hemline. He also reappears similarly dressed (-though here the chiton is

belted-) on the Briseis Painter's cup in New York (see n 181), again with Athena. Could the young figure on the Akropolis cup then also be Theseus? If he were Theseus, then the snaky creature would have to be the semi-anthropoid, fish-tailed Triton, who is seen with him on the Briseis Painter's cup and also on the Kadmos Painter's kalyx-krater in Bologna. (see n 163) (PL 55b) But it is clear from the cup tondo fragments that the creature here, though incompletely preserved, has no human features, and is rather a huge snake. This throws us back to the Erichthonios theory as the most likely identity for the boy, in the company of Athena, her olive tree³⁵ and the large guardian snake. The similarities in the representation of the Erichthonios boy here and the young Theseus on the Louvre cup are better explained as a product of the relationship between the painters of the two vases: the Louvre cup was decorated by Onesimos, and the Akropolis piece by an artist working in the manner of Onesimos.

Finally, I make mention of an unusual vase, on which although the infant Erichthonios does not appear, his presence is implied. This is a late fifth century kalyx-krater by the Kekrops Painter.³⁶ Here, instead of the birth of Erichthonios, his discovery or his subsequent upbringing in the care of Athena, we see Athena and Kekrops making sacrifice and offerings over his closed casket which, covered by a patterned mantle, stands underneath the sacred olive tree. Around this central group, joining in the

celebration and thanksgiving at the birth of this Attic hero and future king are Hephaistos, Hermes and Zeus who are also present together at Erichthonios' birth on the Virginia kalyx-krater painted at about the same date by the Nikias Painter. (48) (PL 31) Poseidon too makes an appearance, and possibly also Attike as the woman seated to right of Athena holding a helmet and leaning on a shield decorated with Medusa's head,³⁷ along with the three Kekropids, Nike and Erotes. Kron has pointed out³⁸ that all the deities present on the Kekrops Painter's krater were revered in the Erechtheion, and it may well be that we have here another vase imbued with a good deal of cultic significance.

Attic vase-paintings depicting the young Erichthonios can thus be divided into three categories: the birth of the infant, the discovery of the child by the Kekropids, and the little boy in the care of Athena.

The most popular of these themes in preserved red-figure is the birth scene, which occurs on eight and possibly nine vases (44-50, 51?, 52), painted between 470-400. The canonical, and early established, schema for the birth scene comprises a central group of Ge half-emerged from the earth, handing up the child to Athena who waits to receive and wrap him in a warm mantle. The by-standers

vary, but most frequently recurring are Zeus, Hephaistos, Kekrops and/or his daughters, and Nike. On one occasion only is Ge empty-handed, having delivered the child into the arms of a waiting figure, probably Athena. The birth of Erichthonios in vase-painting is essentially a red-figure theme. Although it is found three times in black-figure, two of these vases date to the second half of the fifth century and thus well into the red-figure period: the third vase, however, dates to about 480 and constitutes our earliest known illustration of the theme. (n 3) The birth of Erichthonios may also have decorated the base of Alkamenes' statues of Athena and Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion.³⁹ Two neo-Attic reliefs, copying a Classical original, show the birth, and may reflect the reliefs on the statue base.⁴⁰ Though they use the same iconographic schema of the half-emerged Ge handing up the baby to Athena as do our vases, they reverse the composition so that Athena stands facing to right and Ge to left.

The discovery of Erichthonios by the Kekropids occurs seven times in red-figure between 480-400. (n 21) There is no established picture type for the subject: the child himself is not an essential part of the scene, and certainly appears on only two (50, 53), and probably three (52) of these vases.

The young Erichthonios in the care of Athena is the most difficult of the three Erichthonios themes to identify in red-figure, due to Athena's more widely applicable role

as kourotrophos.⁴¹ He is, however, unmistakable on 54, perched in his casket before the goddess and guarded by the snakes. It is, furthermore, most likely he whom we also see in Athena's care on a further three red-figure vases (56, 57, 58) and a black-figure fragment of late fifth century date. (n 26)

An iconographic oddity is the Louvre kalpis of the mid-fifth century decorated by a Mannerist painter, with a child on an altar between snakes, and a fleeing Herakles, Athena and a second woman, (55) and the most likely explanation of this scene is that it reflects a satyr play. Further on the subject of dramatic influence, it is possible that dithyrambic inspiration is suggested by the presence of tripod and wreath on two vases of ca 410-400 with the Erichthonios theme, the Nikias Painter's kalyx-krater depicting the birth (48) and the Kekrops Painter's kalyx-krater showing Kekrops and Athena making a libation over the child's closed casket in the company of assembled divine and heroic personalities. (n 36) The latter vase may well also carry cultic significance since all the deities represented were revered in the Erechtheion. Cultic significance seems less likely for the scenes on 55 and 57.

In scenes of his birth, Erichthonios is most commonly represented as a babe in arms, naked except for a string of amulets around his torso, and usually stretches out his arms to Athena. Elsewhere, he sometimes sits independently in his basket. (50, 53, 54) Several times he is accompanied by

his guardian snakes (50, 54, 55), which on one occasion only (50) are shown coiled about his body. Although the child sometimes looks like a miniature man (44, 52, 53, 54), he is by comparison quite a convincing infant figure on vases painted in the middle and second half of the fifth century. (45-50, 56) The evidence of two of the red-figure cups from the Akropolis (57, 58), on which Erichthonios most probably appears in the care of Athena, suggests that the Erichthonios child was not only represented as a baby, as he is most familiar to us in scenes of his birth, but could also assume the type of an older boy.

From the evidence of preserved red-figure, the artist who most favoured scenes from the childhood of Erichthonios was the Meidias Painter. He twice (49, 50), possibly three (51), times depicts his birth and also illustrates his discovery by the Kekropids. (50) The Meidias Painter was moreover an artist of imagination, and each of his scenes is markedly innovative: on 49 the woman handing the child to Athena is no half-emerged figure, but is fully visible and seated comfortably. On 50 he introduces Soteria and Basile into the scene of Erichthonios' birth, Basileia into the scene of his discovery and shows the snakes coiling round the child's body. It is also noticeable in his birth scenes that he combines his affection for the theme with his preference for scenes of women: on 49 and 51 the cast of characters attending Erichthonios' birth is an unusual all-female one.

KEPHALOS

Kephalos, eponymous hero of one of the Athenian demes, appears commonly in Attic red-figure between about 480-20 BC, most frequently in the early classical period, as a young man pursued by Eos.⁴² By the last quarter of the fifth century he has become an unusual choice of theme, but it is from exactly this period that our single assured red-figure picture of Kephalos as an infant comes. This appears on a white-ground squat lekythos by the Eretria Painter. (59) (PL 38) The frieze on the body shows a scene of five women and a baby. In the centre, a finely-dressed and bejewelled woman sits on a mound holding out a bird on her right hand to a little child who, crawling towards her on his knees, gazes up at the bird and stretches out both arms towards the woman. This infant boy, naked except for bracelets at wrist and ankle and a string of amulets slung around his torso, is chubby and curly-haired. Both names were inscribed; he is ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ,⁴³ but the name of the seated woman is unfortunately no longer legible. Approaching the seated woman from behind, a woman holding a short stick is inscribed ΠΕΡΙΛΟΩ, and to extreme left another woman donning a himation is labelled ΑΝΘΕΙΛΙΑ. Behind the child is a little tree, from which a standing woman, inscribed ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ,⁴⁴ is busy gathering fruits. Behind her, on the extreme right of the picture, is a woman holding out what is most likely a necklace in her right hand, and a fruit or ball in her left. She is ΠΑΙΔΙΑ.

What might be the identity of the seated woman in this calm and peaceful scene? Herse, as mother of Kephalos by Hermes, is a possibility, though I Jucker has objected that she does not easily find a place here amongst the attendant Horai and Charites.⁴⁵ These abstract personifications of good moral qualities and blessings are auspicious and appropriate in birth and childhood scenes and appear elsewhere with infant gods and heroes, such as Asklepios (38) and Eumolpos (63). (see also n 14) Jucker has therefore proposed that the seated figure may be another of their number, Eukleia. The most commonly suggested identity for the figure, however, is Aphrodite;⁴⁶ partly because in late fifth century iconography these abstract personifications, especially Peitho, are often associated with her and partly because she is the focus of the picture and set apart from her standing attendants by her seated posture.

The influence of the Eretria Painter on the Meidias Painter and his group is clear. On three squat lekythoi painted in the Manner of the Meidias Painter we see simpler versions of the scene of women in a garden with crawling baby. (60, 61, 62) On the London lekythos (60) (PL 39) and probably on both lekythoi in Boston (61, 62) (PL 40),⁴⁷ three women attend a crawling naked child in a garden, which is denoted in all three scenes by a slender tree very similar in appearance to that on the Eretria Painter's lekythos. On the two Boston lekythoi a woman plucks fruit from the tree like Eunomia on the Eretria Painter's vase. L

Burn, prompted by the recurrence of scenes of the birth and childhood of Erichthonios in the work of the Meidias Painter (49, 50, 51) (see p 133-36) and particularly by the general similarities of the pictures on 60, 61 and 62 with the Meidias Painter's squat lekythos in Cleveland depicting the birth of Erichthonios (49) (PL 32), has mooted that these three Meidian vases may perhaps show "Erichthonios with his attendant nymphs" (n 17). The presence of three women with the child on each piece may also be suggestive of the Kekropids with Erichthonios. However, there seem to me to be closer parallels between the scenes on these three lekythoi and the Eretria Painter's picture of Kephalos. In these pictures the child crawls along the ground unaided, whilst Erichthonios on the other hand is usually depicted as a babe in arms. On the London lekythos (60), as on the Eretria Painter's vase, the woman in front of the child offers a bird to him on her finger, and behind her a woman holding out a necklace is probably to be identified as Paidia, as also on the Kansas lekythos. Compare also the very similar figures of Peitho on the Eretria Painter's vase and the woman holding out a hydria on the London lekythos. The central woman attending the child on each vase may well be Aphrodite, for as L Burn has pointed out, "Aphrodite is absent from few, if any, of the Meidian paradise gardens".⁴⁸

Despite the similarities in the iconography of the three Meidian lekythoi and the Eretria Painter's vase, the Meidian child is not assuredly Kephalos, since the Meidias

Painter also employed the same general iconographic schema of women in a garden with crawling child (though with an expanded cast of characters) for the infant Eumolpos with Deiope. (63) (PL 40c) But whatever his particular identity, the baby on the three Meidian squat lekythoi is most likely to be a hero: Paidia is probably the figure with the necklace on the London lekythos, and she and her companions are most likely to attend divine or heroic children. And the use by the Eretria and Meidias Painters of the formula of the crawling child in a garden with attendant women for Kephalos and Eumolpos, makes it quite reasonable to suggest that the child on the three Meidian squat lekythoi may well also be an Attic hero.

A seated woman holding out a bird on her finger to a child, or a crawling child reaching towards a bird held by a woman are motifs which occur independently in Attic funerary iconography of the same period. The well-known grave stele of Mnesagora and Nikochares shows the naked, chubby little Nikochares, still at crawling stage, reaching out for the bird held by his standing sister Mnesagora, and a white-ground lekythos in Athens depicts a woman seated with a little bird perched on her finger which she stretches out to a small child who stands at her knee.⁴⁹

ELEUSINIAN CHILDREN

Of the many heroic figures connected with Eleusis, those who are depicted as children in Attic red-figure are Eumolpos, Mousaios and Hippothoon. While Triptolemos is also represented as a youthful figure, he looks sometimes like a boy and sometimes like a young man: I shall, therefore, attempt a closer analysis of his age representation.

Eumolpos

Eumolpos, one of the ancient kings of Athens and of Thracian origin, was accredited with founding the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, and with fathering the priestly line of the Eumolpidae who officiated at Eleusis.⁵⁰ Assured representations of him in Attic red-figure are rare, though it seems that from appearing as the bearded elder statesman in fifth century iconography he subsequently undergoes rejuvenation to reappear as a youthful figure in the art of the fourth century.⁵¹

A unique representation of Eumolpos as a child is found on a pelike of about 410 BC by the Meidias Painter. (63) (PL 40c) He appears as a chubby, curly-haired child, naked but for a string of amulets around his chest and bracelets at wrist and ankle, crawling along the ground with right arm outstretched towards a seated woman who holds a bird on her finger. All the figures, including that of the child, are

inscribed with their names. The woman with the bird is Eumolpos' mother Deiope, whilst his father Mousaios, dressed in Thracian garb, sits above playing his kithara, completely absorbed in his music. The family is accompanied in a garden setting, indicated by a little tree and hillocks, by Aphrodite seated opposite Deiope, with Eros at her shoulder, and three others of her retinue, Peitho, Harmonia and Pothos. The other four women in the scene are Muses who play music with Mousaios; Erato with her tambourine, Melpomene with harp, Terpsichore with lyre, and Kalliope.

Although the picture presents a far more complex composition than that of the baby Kephalos with (?)Aphrodite and her retinue on the Eretria Painter's squat lekythos (59) (PL 38), the group of seated woman offering a bird on her finger to a crawling child in a garden setting is essentially the same. And, as I have pointed out, women with a crawling child in a garden is a theme repeated on three squat lekythoi painted in the Manner of the Meidias Painter. (60, 61, 62) (PLS 39-40)

However, the Meidias Painter's pelike is unique not only in presenting us with the infant Eumolpos, but also in its representation of Mousaios dressed in Thracian garb and assuming the roles of father to Eumolpos and husband to Deiope. (see n 61) G Richter early recognised the significance of the Meidias Painter's pelike with Eumolpos and his parents, Mousaios and Deiope, for our knowledge of fifth century mythology.⁵² The surviving literary sources which

testify to Mousaios and Deiope as the progenitors of Eumolpos are late, and several other genealogies are also known for him.⁵³ In Euripides Erechtheus, for example, he was son of Poseidon and Chione.⁵⁴ The Meidias Painter's picture, however, is proof that already current in the fifth century was the story that the Thracian Mousaios married Deiope of Eleusis, from which union sprang Eumolpos.

Mousaios

Mousaios, like his son Eumolpos, also appears only once as a child in preserved Attic red-figure vase-painting. This is in a cup tondo decorated by the Eretria Painter about 430. (64) (PL 41a) Just as the Meidias Painter's vase, in the absence of preserved early literary sources, provides us with fifth century evidence for the mythology of Eumolpos, so the Eretria Painter's cup supplies an early testimony for the mythology of Mousaios, which otherwise is known only from later written sources.⁵⁵

The tondo picture shows a bearded, wreathed man with a himation wrapped around his lower body, seated on a klismos facing left. He is unrolling a scroll, on which we can make out written characters. Standing in front of him is a naked wreathed boy, right hand on hip and holding up in front of him with his left hand a folding wooden writing tablet. Boy and man are reading a text together. Behind the boy a chest stands on the ground, which may well be the receptacle for

the scroll held by the man. If it were not for the inscriptions, ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ for the boy, ΛΙΝΟΣ for the man, we should take this to be an everyday school scene.⁵⁶

Diodorus (3.67) tells us that Linos acted as schoolmaster to Herakles, Thamyras and Orpheus. Linos as teacher of Herakles and Iphikles, and for his pains murdered by Herakles, we shall also see depicted in Attic red-figure. (71-78) And from the evidence of the Eretria Painter's cup tondo (64), we can probably add Mousaios to the list of Linos' famous pupils. It is perhaps strange though that Mousaios being renowned in mythology for his musical talents, and elsewhere in red-figure almost invariably represented with a lyre or other musical instrument (n 61), and Linos, according to Diodorus (3.67), similarly well-known for his musical gifts and for teaching his pupils music and poetry, are shown here apparently respectively learning and teaching the literary arts. It is true, however, that Linos was also accredited by Diodorus with inventing the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician, and with writing his memoirs. Nevertheless, Beazley's recollection of the late tradition mentioned in Servius which made Linos father of Mousaios, provides an alternative interpretation of the scene.⁵⁷ Beazley goes on to reconstruct the text written on Linos' scroll as (μῦθος)ύνην ... θεῶν αἰ(εῖς) ἑτάειν), and compares this to a fragment of Chiron's Precepts to his pupil Achilles which went under the name of Hesiod.⁵⁸ He further points out that a rolled up scroll with the title +IPONEIA appears on a kyathos by Onesimos.⁵⁹

He also notes that Mousaios as father of Eumolpos was credited with a work entitled Precepts to his Son Eumolpos,⁶⁰ and tentatively suggests that Linos as father of Mousaios might have been thought to have written Precepts to his Son Mousaios, and that this may be what father and son are reading here together on the Eretria Painter's cup tondo.

Mousaios is not a commonly occurring personality in extant Attic red-figure. When he does appear, it is on vases of the second half of the fifth century, in the guise of a young man, often with a lyre, and in the company of the Muses, as on 63, and/or Apollo.⁶¹ It is frequently only by an inscription which names him that we are able to distinguish him from Apollo. The Eretria Painter's cup is unique amongst these extant representations in depicting the very different theme of Mousaios with Linos, and is furthermore the only vase on which Mousaios is certainly to be interpreted as a boy rather than a young man.⁶² The Eretria Painter has given him a developed and well-muscled physique, but his immature status is made clear by the presence of Linos as his teacher and/or father.

Triptolemos

Triptolemos, another hero of Eleusis - though raised to near minor divinity status - joins Theseus, Eumolpos and probably Hippothoon amongst those Attic heroes who undergo a

process of rejuvenation during the course of their representation in Attic vase-painting.⁶³ Black-figure vases of the second half of the sixth century show Triptolemos as a bearded adult male seated on a wheeled cart holding ears of grain. But by about 480 he has turned into a beardless youth who takes his leave of Demeter and Persephone in a wheeled and winged chariot, which sometimes also has serpents entwined about its wheels.⁶⁴

It is difficult to tell, however, whether Triptolemos in the red-figure pictures is a boy or a young man. He certainly looks very youthful: clean-shaven, with long or short garlanded hair, he often appears semi-naked with only a himation wrapped around his lower body. On occasions, he looks particularly boyish: take, for example, his appearance on a kalpis of the mid-fifth century in Vienna where he sits on his winged throne, holding phiale and sceptre, in the presence of Demeter and Persephone.⁶⁵ His smooth facial features and youthful physique combine with his rather timid attitude in the presence of the two goddesses and with his slightly more diminutive stature by the side of them, to create a very juvenile figure. A bell-krater of about the same date by the Hektor Painter also presents us with a very youthful Triptolemos.⁶⁶ Clutching his sceptre and a handful of grain stalks, he is about to step up into his chariot, whilst Persephone and Demeter look on. He is again smooth-featured and semi-draped, and his wreathed hair falls over his shoulders in long ringlets. Again, he is smaller in stature than the two female figures. However, diminished

stature (and, for that matter, timidity of attitude or bearing) in the presence of the gods is never a reliable indicator of age (see p 25), and our objective iconographical analysis of the young hero in red-figure can therefore place him only within a very broad age band ranging from adolescent boy to young man. A representation in which he appears to be more the young man than the boy occurs, for example, on a neck-amphora by the Achilles Painter where, though seated in the same pose as the Triptolemos figure on the Vienna kalpis and again holding sceptre and phiale, his thicker features and fully-dressed state join to create a different visual impression.⁶⁷

Analysis of the ancient literary sources for Triptolemos helps little in trying to determine whether the popular fifth century perception of the hero was as a boy or a man: the sources are sadly meagre, and those we do have do not refer directly to his age.⁶⁸ In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (149-55, 473-79), Triptolemos is one of the kings of Eleusis to whom Demeter reveals her Mysteries, and though nothing is said of her gifts to him of grain and the wheeled chariot, his adult and regal appearance in black-figure does not contradict this description. Also in the Hymn Demophoon, son of Keleus and Metaneira, is Demeter's nursling, and apparently has no familial connection with Triptolemos. However, in the Marmor Parium, Apollodoros, Pausanias and a Scholion on Aristides we learn that in the Athenian tradition Triptolemos was son of Keleus and Metaneira.⁶⁹ It is likely that since Triptolemos, the

distributor of the gifts of grain and Demeter's Mysteries and thus civilisation, seems to have been taken up by Athens in the fifth century as a symbol of the beneficence and civilising power of the Athenian Empire, there was a desire to link him - and therefore Athens - more closely with divine authority, namely that of Demeter.⁷⁰ It has been proposed that in the Classical version of the story, Triptolemos came to replace Demophon as the nursling of the goddess.⁷¹ At any rate, his rejuvenation in Attic red-figure would suggest that his youthful appearance in the presence of Demeter had come to imply a special relationship between them, along the lines of "adopted/foster" mother-son.

Still, this does not clarify whether the fifth century Athenian perception of Triptolemos was as a boy or a young man - if indeed it was specifically either. Can depictions of the hero in other contemporary artistic media help? The great sculptural relief of 440-30 from Eleusis in the Athens National Museum springs immediately to mind.⁷² There, the young Triptolemos stands between the solicitous Demeter and Persephone. The relief is markedly different from the usual red-figure representation of the departure of Triptolemos not only in the unmistakably boyish figure of our hero himself, but also in the absence of his winged chariot: clearly, this large and imposing relief was sculpted according to a different iconographic formula than that generally followed by contemporary vase-painters. One explanation for this could be that the relief reflects a

peculiarly Eleusinian version of the myth, perhaps even connected to the Mysteries themselves: it is possible that the stele, which was found at Eleusis, once stood within the sanctuary of Demeter and would therefore have been protected under the rule of secrecy from becoming common knowledge, although this is less likely in view of the existence of a Roman copy of the relief.⁷³ The deviation of the iconography of the stele from that common in red-figure vase-painting of the same period has led to debate over the identity of the boy in the relief: one suggestion comes from Metzger, who has put forward the idea that the boy is an adolescent initiate into the Mysteries.⁷⁴ But might we not speculate that the boy could at one and the same time be both hero and initiate? For Triptolemos, as one of the first initiates into Demeter's Mysteries,⁷⁵ would be a fitting representative of the young Athenian *mystai*. It is interesting in this connection to note that Triptolemos is shown very much in the guise of an *ephebe*, dressed in *chlamys* and *petasos*, and carrying a pair of spears, as he receives the gift of grain from Demeter on a neck-amphora by a painter of the Polygnotan group.⁷⁶

Most of this though is speculation, and with regard to the depiction of Triptolemos in Attic red-figure I can only conclude that his iconography is too indistinct to modern eyes to permit no more specific a classification of him than as a "youthful" figure. I therefore do not include him in my catalogue of children. We may, however, speculate whether this ambiguity might at least be partly due to

uncertainty amongst the vase-painters as to the representation of the adolescent figure, a stage of life when a youth was neither boy nor man. On the other hand, there may not necessarily have been any "fixed" age for Triptolemos either in the minds of the vase-painters or in the popular fifth century Athenian conception of our hero: for them, as by necessity for us, he may simply have been a "youthful" figure.⁷⁷ His rejuvenation in Attic red-figure also at least is partly attributable to the general regeneration of heroic figures in art in this period.

Hippothoon

The hero Hippothoon was son of Poseidon by the mortal woman Alope, daughter of Kerkyon of Eleusis. At his birth, Alope exposed her son, but the child's life was saved by the appearance of a mare which suckled it. The infant was found and taken in by two herdsmen who, falling into a quarrel about who should keep the child's princely robe, appeared before Kerkyon for arbitration in the matter. Realising that the baby was his daughter's offspring, Kerkyon ordered Alope to be incarcerated and the child to be exposed once more. But again the little Hippothoon was suckled by a mare, and thus survived to grow to manhood. Later when Theseus, on his way from Troizen to Athens, slew Kerkyon, the kingdom of Eleusis passed to Hippothoon.

The story of the eventful childhood of Hippothoon must

already have been well-known in the late sixth century since we know of a tragedy, Alope, written by Choirilos. Pherekydes in the early fifth century made reference to the myth, and Aischylos' satyr play Kerkyon may perhaps have treated the fate of Hippothoon and his mother. The popularity of the theme in the theatre is further evidenced by two more tragedies with the title Alope, one from the pen of Euripides and the other by the fourth century tragedian Karkinos. All of these works, however, are for the most part lost, and our most detailed surviving account is a much later one by Hyginus, which nevertheless seems to reproduce the contents of the Euripidean tragedy.⁷⁸

Considering the apparent popularity of the story of Alope and Hippothoon in Classical Athens, it is perhaps surprising that the hero's childhood is represented only once in extant Attic red-figure vase-painting, and that not until the fourth century. The vase is a fragmentary chous decorated about 340 in the Kerch style. (65) (PL 41b) On the right we see the mare rearing up (-her head and forelegs are not preserved-), with the naked little Hippothoon on his knees between her back legs, reaching up to suckle from the animal. Both mare and child are overpainted in yellowish-white. On the left, observing the scene, a woman stands with one foot raised, (see ch 1, n 11) holding a long torch in each hand. This is unlikely to be Alope, since it was she who exposed her child for the first time, and on the occasion of its second exposure she was locked away by Kerkyon. Perhaps the best explanation for this figure is

that proposed by Watzinger: he suggests that she is the place nymph Eleusis, an identity which would accord with the torches she holds.⁷⁹ Only one certain representation of the nymph Eleusis survives in Attic red-figure, on a skyphos by Makron in the British Museum, where she is present with Demeter and Persephone at the dispatch of Triptolemos.⁸⁰ But that an appropriate place nymph was no stranger as nurse to an infant god or hero, we have already seen on a plate by the Meidias Painter where Epidauros carries the little Asklepios. (38) (PL 25a) Further, the nymphs of Nysa were the nurses of the infant Dionysos, and Attike as the personification of the land of Attica may perhaps attend the child Erichthonios on 49. (PL 32) (see also n 9 & 10)

Our only other assured Attic depictions of the infant Hippothoon are found on five lead symbola dating to the fourth to second centuries.⁸¹ On these, although the mare is shown in stationary rather than rearing fashion, the child is depicted in a pose similar to that which he adopts on the red-figure chous.

Greek mythology several times relates the story of an abandoned child discovered and suckled by an animal: Telephos, for example, is suckled by a deer and Zeus by a goat.⁸² But, surprisingly, our chous with Hippothoon is the sole extant Attic vase to depict this popular myth type of she-animal nursing a child. The figure of Hippothoon here, however, can be compared to the type of the crawling child used for other heroic children in the later fifth and

fourth century: Kephalos on 59, 60, 61 and 62 and Eumolpos on 63 are, for example, depicted in a similar fashion. Furthermore, the same crawling infant type is employed by the vase-painters in these years for the depiction of mortal children: a white-ground lekythos by the Bird Painter, for example, shows a naked infant crawling along the steps of a funerary monument towards his mother, and similar crawling children are very common on choes of this period.⁸³ The use of the chous shape, with its close associations with children, was a very fitting one for our scene of the baby Hippothoon.

Hippothoon, however, is more familiar to us in vase-painting as an adult bearded man, and is most commonly seen in this guise in a gathering of Eleusinian characters witnessing the departure of Triptolemos on several vases dating to the second quarter of the fifth century.⁸⁴ He also appears once as a beardless young man amongst other heroes in a scene of Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides on the well-known London kalpis of about 410 BC by the Meidias Painter. (n 18)

Assured representations of Hippothoon occur relatively infrequently in the surviving corpus of ancient Greek art: we can cite no more than about twenty examples, most of these in red-figure vase-painting and the minor arts.⁸⁵ This is perhaps surprising, since not only was the story of the events surrounding his childhood popular in the theatre, but considerable political significance attached to him as

the eponymous hero of one of the Attic phylai. Strongly identified with Eleusis, where he had long been revered as a local cult hero, his adoption as an Attic phyle hero ensured the full incorporation of Eleusis within the Athenian fold.

AJAX

Like Hippothoon, Ajax too was eponymous hero of one of the Attic phylai. According to the ancient literary sources, he was the son of Telamon, king of Salamis, and Eriboia.⁸⁶ These two figures appear with their names clearly inscribed on the exterior of a cup decorated about 430 by the Kodros Painter.⁸⁷ (PL 42a) Eriboia approaches Telamon carrying a draped bundle in both hands, bending her head and gaze down towards it, and cautiously proffers the mysterious object to the king. Behind Eriboia stands a young warrior, and behind Telamon another young warrior converses with a second woman. Ernst Berger has suggested that Eriboia's bundle contains the infant Ajax himself, and that the scene shows Eriboia presenting the child to his father.⁸⁸

Depictions of completely wrapped or swaddled infants are extremely rare in extant Attic red-figure vase-painting. Partially wrapped babes in arms are, on the other hand, not uncommon: for example, Dionysos is several times represented swathed or swaddled with only his head and sometimes his feet visible (see, for example, 9, 15, 18, 19), and Herakles (70), Perseus (102) and Erigone/Aletes (191) also similarly appear,⁸⁹ while Erichthonios as a new-born babe is handed up by Ge to Athena, who prepares to receive and wrap him in a warm mantle (see, for example, 44, 47, 49). We do, however, have two representations of Rhea presenting Kronos with a totally swathed object (34, 35), but this, of course,

is no child but a stone substitute. Nevertheless, the deception was sufficiently realistic to convince Kronos, and a comparison of the package offered to Kronos by Rhea on the New York pelike (34) (PL 23a) and that held by Eriboia on the Basle cup, show both women with similarly sized and draped bundles of elongated, but otherwise indeterminate, shape. Since it is apparently the case that in preserved Attic red-figure iconography even the youngest of new-born children such as Erichthonios are shown naked, or about to be wrapped, or partially draped, and our only example of a "child" hidden completely by his wrappings is in reality a stone, then if Eriboia does indeed here cradle the infant Ajax, we should seek a reason for his totally covered state.

The extant literary sources tell us very little about the birth and childhood of Ajax apart from the identity of his parents, and Berger supports his interpretation of the Kodros Painter's scene by attempting to reconstruct the lost mythology from sparse and somewhat confused late mythological traditions.⁹⁰ These seem to suggest a version of the myth in which Eriboia, having been seduced by Telamon before her marriage to him, was cast out by her father, and subsequently by a strange twist of fate came to be sold to her former lover so that her child was born in the house of his true father. Berger proposes that some similar version of the story may have been current already in the fifth century and that, further, a now lost tragedy had inspired the Kodros Painter's scene. He suggests that Eriboia is shown approaching Telamon with the illegitimate child in

very timid fashion because it is the first time they have met since the fateful seduction and she is unsure what her old lover's reaction will be at this reunion. It is also possible that her timidity may be due to the presence of the second woman in the scene who, standing on Telamon's left and linked to him by the overlapping of their feet, could be his first wife Glauke.

Berger's arguments, though persuasive, are obviously speculative, and in the absence of any early and unequivocal ancient literary sources, will remain so. Consequently, and also in view of the lack of any other depictions of the infant Ajax in extant Attic red-figure, I do not include the vase in my catalogue of representations. The iconography of the scene, however, fits in very well with Berger's theories. Completely wrapped or covered infants seem to occur in Attic red-figure only under extraordinary circumstances, such as the occasion on which a stone is disguised as the baby Zeus. Quite possibly, the presentation of an illegitimate child by his unfortunate mother could comprise another signal case. The completely swathed appearance of the bundle held by Eriboia would not here, therefore, militate against its proposed identity as the baby Ajax.

A little further speculation seems worthwhile: if Eriboia does indeed hold the little Ajax, then it is interesting to note that the only two eponymous heroes of the Attic phylai depicted as infants in extant Attic red-

figure are Ajax and Hippothoon, precisely the two whose origins and principal connections lay outside Athens itself - Ajax at Salamis and Hippothoon at Eleusis.⁹¹ By representing these two as children the vase-painters may have been reflecting Athens' desire to emphasise her links with these heroes and through them with their traditional mother territories.

HERAKLES & ASSOCIATED CHILDREN

I deal here with Herakles and his twin brother Iphikles, with Herakles' son Hyllos, and with Herakles' young companions Lichas and Philoktetes.

Herakles

A. Herakles fighting snakes

The seeds of Herakles' many troubles were sown already at his conception. Zeus tricked Alkmene into sleeping with him by taking the form of her mortal husband Amphitryon: thus was fathered Herakles and so was provoked the jealous enmity of Hera. Amphitryon, unaware of his wife's unintentional infidelity, returned from campaign and lying with Alkmene the same night begat Herakles' twin, Iphikles. Our early sources for the story are Homer, Hesiod and Pindar, whilst the theme found dramatic expression in Sophokles' Amphitryon and also in Euripides' Alkmene.⁹²

Several events in Herakles' early life are known to us from the ancient sources and/or the iconographical tradition.⁹³ Like so many of the divine children studied in chapters one and two, the life of the child Herakles came under threat soon after his birth. As soon as Hera heard that the child had been born, she dispatched two snakes to the palace of Amphitryon to destroy the infant. Herakles thus, in Hera, was faced with the same enemy as the infant Dionysos, and in single-handedly killing the snakes

demonstrated that he was another of the great mythological wonder-children. Pindar in his first Nemean Ode is our earliest extant source for the tale, but he says it was already an old story in his day.⁹⁴ He tells us that the serpents crept into the cradle where the little Herakles and Iphikles lay. But Herakles, with that unnatural strength given to divine and heroic children, seized the slithering creatures and strangled them to death. Alkmene, just delivered, and Amphytryon, sword in hand, rushed up, but Zeus' son had no need of such help. Euripides, following the tradition recounted by Pindar, also refers to the incident in his Herakles, and Sophokles may have written a satyr play, the Herakliskos, on the subject.⁹⁵ Pherekydes, on the other hand, recounted a version of the story also current in the early fifth century, in which Amphytryon and not Hera set the snakes to attack the children in order to discover which baby was his and which Zeus': this account, however, is unique and finds no echoes in later extant sources.⁹⁶

The subject finds expression in extant Attic red-figure vase-painting on four vases which date roughly to 480-50, and whose iconography agrees with the story as it was related by Pindar probably in 476. (n 94)⁹⁷ The earliest preserved vase is a stamnos from the hand of the Berlin Painter; (66) (PL 42b) this presents the little Herakles and Iphikles naked on an elaborate kline, the bedclothes in disarray but still covering their legs. Herakles has seized a snake in each hand and wrestles with them, whilst

Iphikles, in back view, flees with open arms to a woman behind the kline - presumably Alkmene - who herself is about to make off with the child to right. A bearded man, draped in himation and holding a long stick, stands in profile view on the far right; he is probably Amphytryon. Athena, with aegis and long lance stands calmly in front of the bed, and raises her left hand in a protective gesture over the head of Herakles. A woman behind her, most likely an attendant of Alkmene, more or less repeats Athena's pose and also mirrors that of the male figure on the extreme right of the picture.

About 475 BC an artist near the Mykonos Painter repeated the subject on a column-krater in Perugia. (67) (PL 43a) The essential elements of the scene are the same, although the number of figures present has been reduced from six to five with the disappearance of Alkmene's attendant, and an Aeolic column now appears behind the kline.

The remnants of a badly damaged cup in Leipzig painted by the Pan Painter about 470 also illustrate the same theme. (68) (PL 43b) There seems to be some confusion amongst the published descriptions of this cup as to the original position of the fragments:⁹⁸ I make out the two infants on the kline, Herakles again struggling with two snakes and Iphikles escaping to right. Athena's presence in front of the kline and to left of Herakles seems certain from the remains of her lance which crosses Herakles' body, and traces of the serpents on her aegis in the top left corner

of the fragment. Behind Athena a woman stands facing right (that is, towards the kline) with both hands raised in front of her. Behind her is the raised left hand of another figure (Amphitryon?). On the extreme right of the picture, a woman runs left towards the kline, bringing the number of preserved figures in the scene to six, the same total as on the Berlin Painter's stamnos but markedly different in their arrangement in that three figures stand to left of Herakles, and the woman on the right of the kline runs towards it instead of fleeing from it.

The other extant vase depicting the subject is a kalpis by the Nausikaa Painter dating to about 460-50. (69) (PL 44a) Of all the vases it bears the simplest and most symmetrical composition with only the five essential characters present, but this time instead of standing quietly by, Amphitryon - just as Pindar describes him (see n 94) - charges up with sword drawn to help Herakles.

Although the four vase-paintings agree with regard to the version of the myth they depict, there is clearly no common iconographic schema for the scene. The five essential characters certainly appear in the Berlin and Nausikaa painters' scenes, on the vase in Perugia decorated by an artist close to the Mykonos Painter, and probably also on the cup by the Pan Painter, but their location and attitudes in the scenes vary. The figure of Alkmene on the Perugia column-krater and the Nausikaa Painter's kalpis is almost identical, but this female figure fleeing with both

arms raised and turning her head back over her shoulder is a stock motif of Attic red-figure iconography of the Early Classical period;⁹⁹ and the Berlin Painter on the other hand prefers to show her picking up Iphikles ready to flee to right with him, whilst on the Pan Painter's cup she is more likely to be the figure rushing towards the kline from the right in order to help her sons. Amphytryon again probably appears in all four scenes, but he may stand passively by to left or right or, as on the Nausikaa Painter's kalpis, hastens up with sword drawn. Athena stands in front of the kline to left of Herakles on the Berlin Painter's stamnos and the Pan Painter's cup: to left of Herakles but behind the kline on the Perugia krater, and behind the kline but in a central position looking to left on the Nausikaa Painter's vase. The most consistent element is the central bed with Herakles on the left battling two snakes and Iphikles trying to escape to right. But even here, it seems that independent, already established iconographic elements are being used in different combinations by the vase-painters to create a narrative scene: Herakles' pose is very similar on the Nausikaa Painter's and Perugia vases - he kneels in frontal view, his head turned in profile to left, his left arm raised and right lowered, in each a snake, though admittedly the lower serpent coils more exuberantly on the Perugia vase. The Berlin and Pan painters' figures of Herakles are similar, but markedly different from the Nausikaa Painter's and Perugia Herakles: the little hero, his lower body hidden to a greater or lesser extent by the bedclothes, his torso in

frontal or three-quarter view, leans to right with his head - at least on the Berlin Painter's stamnos - turned in profile in the same direction. His right arm is raised and his left lowered as he wrestles with the snakes. On the Pan Painter's cup he also wears a string of amulets. Conversely, the scenes on the Berlin Painter's vase and the Perugia krater agree in showing Iphikles in back view, turning his head left to look back over his shoulder, and stretching out his arms to right towards his mother, whilst the Pan and Nausikaa painters depict his torso frontally as he again escapes to right.

The hypothesis, resulting from these parallels, that the vase-painters were utilising already established and independent iconographic types for the figures of Herakles and Iphikles cannot be proven since these four vases constitute our earliest representation of the myth in Greek art. But I think it is significant that this early narrative context was soon reduced to its essential element of the infant hero struggling with snakes, and that this isolated emblem became quite common on Greek coins from the mid-fifth century onwards.¹⁰⁰ Only once do the coins show Herakles accompanied by a second figure: this occurs on a stater from Kyzikos where Herakles, kneeling and facing left, a snake each in his raised left and lowered right hands, is accompanied on the right by Iphikles. The representation on the coin bears a general similarity to the group of Herakles and Iphikles on the Nausikaa Painter's vase and may have been struck roughly around the same time,

or perhaps somewhat later than, the vase was decorated.¹⁰¹ The fact that the Attic vase-paintings from the second quarter of, and coins from the second half of the fifth century, the latter from such distant places as Thebes and east Greece, exhibit similarity of iconography in the figure of Herakles, suggests to me that this general iconographic type was already in use in the major arts by about 480 at the latest: Attic vase-painting is hardly likely to have inspired later coin motifs across the Greek world. The subject does not occur again in preserved Attic vase-painting after the mid-fifth century.

Zeuxis of Herakleia did, however, take up the theme in a narrative form again in a wall-painting at the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century. Pliny tells us only that he depicted "a superb Zeus enthroned amid assembled gods with the infant Herakles strangling the snakes in presence of his trembling mother Alkmene and Amphitryon".¹⁰² Many attempts have been made over the years to reconstruct this painting: echoes of it may perhaps reverberate in three Roman paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum.¹⁰³ Etruscan red-figure vase-painting also illustrated the story in a narrative fashion in the fourth century, and attempts have been made to connect one of these vase-paintings with Zeuxis' picture.¹⁰⁴ Woodford, on the other hand, points out that the infant Herakles first appears in seated pose on coins from Thebes around the beginning of the fourth century, on which also the innovation of the figure's large head and chubby limbs

combine to create a much more babyish appearance.¹⁰⁵ Noting that Zeuxis seems to have been interested in problems concerning the portrayal of infancy,¹⁰⁶ she suggests there may have been a link between this and Pliny's report (NH 35.64) that Zeuxis received criticism for depicting heads and limbs too large and out of proportion with the rest of the body. She concludes with the possibility that the change in the iconographic type of the infant Herakles from the sturdy kneeling child to a more babyish sitting figure may have been due to Zeuxis himself.

Our four extant Attic vase-paintings, however, depict the infant Herakles very much as a scaled-down adult. For the Berlin Painter in particular he is a miniature man, with massive shoulders and chest, well-muscled physique and small head. Admittedly, divine and heroic "wonder children" such as Hermes, Apollo and Herakles, who no sooner are born than they start to perform fantastic deeds, must have posed vase-painters with a problem of visually combining childlike attitudes with superhuman strength, but even the feeble mortal twin Iphikles receives the same miniature adult treatment. Only on the Perugia column-krater do the two infants attain any degree of childlike realism, with bigger heads, rounded facial features and shorter, chubbier limbs. (The published photographs are, however, sadly inadequate for any closer analysis.) Both infants sport a rather unusual hairstyle, which puts me in mind of the sheepskin hats worn in red-figure by fishermen, hunters, herdsmen, countrymen and others.¹⁰⁷ Herakles as an adult bearded man

is again seen with this same coiffure on a cup by the Clinic Painter,¹⁰⁸ and we shall have cause to return later on to the matter of Herakles' particular hairstyle. (see p 186 & n 115)

B. Other events in Herakles' early childhood

Two other events in Herakles' early childhood - his suckling from Hera, and his education at the hands of the centaur Chiron - which are not attested in the preserved ancient literature until the third century,¹⁰⁹ must however have already been part of popular lore much earlier: an Apulian red-figure vase of the mid-fourth century shows the little Herakles suckled by Hera and a small Attic black-figure neck-amphora of about 510-500 shows Hermes bringing the child to Chiron.

The black-figure representation is unique in the iconography of extant Attic painted vases.¹¹⁰ On the reverse of the vase Chiron stands quietly, his staff slung with hunting spoils over his shoulder and his dog by his side. On the obverse Hermes, in great haste, runs to right with the little Herakles cradled in his left arm: both figures are clearly identified by inscriptions. Hermes may be bringing the child to the wise centaur for his education, running quickly and glancing back over his shoulder lest Hera should set eyes on them; or since both Hermes and

Chiron face to right - so that Hermes appears to run away from, rather than towards, Chiron - the centaur may have just returned Herakles to Hermes who now sets off with him on the return journey. Hermes is immediately recognisable by his attributes - winged boots, kerykeion, petasos - but not so the child: were it not for the inscription over his head we should probably identify him as Achilles since the infant Achilles brought to Chiron by Peleus in the company of Hermes is not an uncommon subject in Attic vase-painting,¹¹¹ and indeed, on a white-ground lekythos of about 475 by the Painter of Munich 2774 Hermes himself carries the little Achilles to the centaur. (108) (PL 67a) (see p 277-9)

Such a lack of attributes does however lead to problems of interpretation when we turn to the picture on a red-figure kalpis by the Kleophrades Painter. (70) (PL 44b) This time we see Iris hurrying to right, her wings outspread, and holding in her arms a curly-haired child whilst clutching her kerykeion at the same time. The identity of this boy has provoked discussion over many years, though a conclusive argument has never been presented. As I have already noted in chapter two, (p 83-4) the most popular and likely hypotheses put forward to interpret the scene are Iris with the infant Hermes or the infant Herakles.¹¹² The identification of the child as Hermes is prompted by a skyphos fragment by the Lewis Painter which shows the infant Hermes clutching a large kerykeion in the arms of Iris. (33) (PL 22b) There,

however, Iris is stationary and the scene is calm. The iconography of the Kleophrades Painter's kalpis, on the other hand, exhibits more parallels with the black-figure picture of Hermes carrying Herakles, in that the draped figure of the child is depicted in a similar pose on both vases, and great haste is apparent in the attitudes of both Hermes and Iris as they run to right. Furthermore, if we compare the Kleophrades Painter's child to the young adult Herakles battling the Nemean lion on his hydria in Rome we see that both figures sport the same coiffure and wide-open eye.¹¹³ Admittedly, the full eye with central pupil is common in the Kleophrades Painter's work - Iris's eye on the Munich kalpis, for example, is not dissimilar - and the painter also uses the same hairstyle for other figures.¹¹⁴ But the combination of distinct coiffure and wild- or wide-eyed look is a Heraklian feature.¹¹⁵ The three certain representations we have of the infant Hermes (31, 32, 33) depict him with his particular attributes of kerykeion and/or winged hat or petasos. The Kleophrades Painter's child possesses none of these. The adult Herakles, usually depicted by the vase-painters with his club and/or lionskin, poses few problems of identification. On the other hand, in all the extant Attic red-figure, assured illustrations of the young Herakles, the hero is instead identifiable from the picture context - strangling the snakes or killing Linos - with only occasionally the wild eye and curly hair added.

It may also be significant that the Berlin Painter's kalpis showing Herakles strangling the snakes has on its

reverse side a picture of Zeus sending out Hermes and Iris (66). It is true that the preserved Attic vases depicting incidents from the early life of Herakles do not usually show any connection of subject matter between obverse and reverse scenes, but we know from the evidence of the black-figure amphora (n 110) that Hermes was associated with the infant Herakles, and I wonder in the case of the Berlin Painter's vase whether the interpretation of the reverse scene might be Zeus sending out the divine heralds to protect the Herakles child from the wrath of Hera. Furthermore, Iris is also present on the Apulian squat lekythos in London (n 117) where little Herakles suckles from Hera. Just as Pindar, who is our earliest extant literary source for the myth of the snakes sent against Herakles by Hera, attests that the myth was already an old story in his day, (n 94) it seems likely that Iris too already played a role in the early life of Herakles in fifth century mythology. Everything considered, the child carried by Iris on the Kleophrades Painter's kalpis is most probably Herakles.

However, a third possible interpretation of the scene should also be considered, since its iconography is similar to that on a series of ten red-figure vases which are usually thought to show Eos carrying off Kephalos or Tithonos. (see ch 4, p 335 & n 107) The fact that our winged woman carries a kerykeion does not identify her indubitably as Iris, since the woman often identified as Eos who chases Kephalos/Tithonos on a further series of red-figure vases, may also carry a kerykeion. (ch 4, n 113) However, the

Kleophrades Painter's picture does display differences which would seem to set it apart from the Kephalos/Tithonos scenes. Most importantly, the Kleophrades Painter's winged woman faces forward as she runs, intent on her mission, and does not look back over her shoulder as the abductress of Kephalos/Tithonos always does. Secondly, the Kleophrades Painter's boy is fully draped, whereas Kephalos/Tithonos in such scenes is always naked or semi-naked with a himation draped loosely over his arms or shoulders. And thirdly, whilst scenes of the abduction of Kephalos/Tithonos are popular between 450-40, our vase dates to about 470. We thus return to Iris and Herakles as the most likely identities for the Kleophrades Painter's figures.

The suckling of Herakles by Hera, first attested by Lykophron and Eratosthenes in the third century, finds no artistic expression in preserved Attic iconography. (n 109)¹¹⁶ But an Apulian red-figure squat lekythos in London testifies that the myth was already current in the Greek world by the mid-fourth century BC at the latest.¹¹⁷ There Herakles is no longer a babe in arms, but a standing toddler, naked but for a string of amulets worn around his torso. Iris's presence in this scene, and Eratosthenes' later reference to Hermes bringing Herakles to Hera, raises the possibility with regard to the Kleophrades Painter's kalpis and the Munich black-figure neck-amphora, where the divine heralds run to right with Herakles - again apparently a little boy rather than a baby - that these Attic scenes may also have been connected with a fifth century version of

the story of Herakles suckled by Hera, and that Hermes and Iris may perhaps be carrying the child to the goddess. But it was in Italy, and mainly in Etruria, that the myth seems to have been most popular, and was frequently represented.¹¹⁸

C. Herakles at School

If Chiron was Herakles' first teacher, then Linos was his second. The hero's education at the hands of Linos is attested, though only in fragments, in the fifth century written sources: we know of a satyr play, Linos, written by Achaïos in the second half of the century.¹¹⁹ Herakles was already a notoriously bad pupil quite early on: Alexis in the fourth century wrote a comedy, Linos, in which Herakles prefers his master's cookery books to any serious learning!¹²⁰ But our fullest ancient sources for the story come later with Apollodoros and Diodorus, who tell us that Herakles killed Linos with a kithara, either because the teacher had chastened his pupil for being a slow learner (Diodorus), or because Linos had hit Herakles first (Apollodoros).¹²¹

The attack by Herakles on his schoolmaster is depicted eight times in extant Attic red-figure vase-painting (72-78),¹²² and a further vase shows a calmer scene preceding the attack (71).¹²³ These vases between them span the

years 490-50, thus having roughly the same chronological spread as the Attic vases showing Herakles killing the snakes (66-69), or carried by Iris. (70) But unlike scenes of Herakles struggling with the serpents, Herakles killing Linos disappears from view in the whole of preserved Greek art after the mid-fifth century, even though the story is clearly known in the later written sources. As with the painted scenes of the infant Herakles brought to Chiron or suckled by Hera, the story of Herakles' education by Linos is attested first by vase-painting, pre-dating our earliest written source - Achaïos - for the subject.

The name vase of the Pistoxenos Painter, a skyphos in Schwerin of about 470-60 BC, (71) is unique in extant Attic red-figure, for it shows a peaceful moment preceding Herakles' murder of Linos. On one side of the skyphos (PL 45a) Linos and Herakles' brother, Iphikles, sit facing each other - teacher on klismos, pupil on diphros - practising the lyre together. On the other side (PL 45b) we see Herakles on his way to school, accompanied by his Thracian nurse. All the names are inscribed, even that of the old nurse Geropso, which makes one wonder if the Pistoxenos Painter was perhaps following some now lost, dramatic version of the myth. The characterisation of the figures is superb: Herakles, again wild-eyed and curly-haired carries a slim javelin: clearly he prefers sport to his forthcoming music lesson, for which he seems to have only disdain, making his old nurse carry his lyre for him. The stooped old Thracian nurse, with tattoos on neck,

arms and feet, is wizened and age has robbed her of all but one of her teeth. She too, like Herakles, has the wide, wild eye, though in her case it is probably meant to be an indication of her uncivilised Thracian identity. The scene on the other side of the vase conjures up a completely different mood: Linos and Iphikles sit with heads demurely bent, quietly playing music together. Clear signs of aging are obvious in the figure of Linos with his thinning white hair and straggly beard. It is interesting that he too has the same wild-eyed look as Herakles and Geropso: possibly the early fifth century version of the myth already told of Linos striking Herakles, and the Pistoxenos Painter has perhaps tried to convey this hastiness of temperament in his depiction of the teacher. Only the mild young Iphikles is gentle-eyed. Considering this degree of effective characterisation of all the figures, including the subtle depiction of the aging process in Linos, and the cruel depiction of old age in Geropso, it is perhaps surprising that there is no real indication, apart from the fact that he is beardless, of Herakles' tender years: his appearance is more that of a young man than a schoolboy.

The extant Attic red-figure vases depicting Herakles killing Linos can be divided into two groups: those which show Linos seated (72-75) and those which depict him falling to the ground under Herakles' blows (76-78). They are more or less evenly divided between the two types, and both types appear concurrently. Scenes with the seated Linos are composed only of the two main figures, whilst in the

pictures where he falls to the ground one or more bystanders are present in addition to the two protagonists. The subject seems to have been popular on cups.

One of the earliest vases with the seated type of Linos is the Tyszkiewicz Painter's stamnos in Boston. (72) (PL 46a) Herakles grasps Linos' right shoulder with his outstretched left hand - as he does in all the scenes (where sufficient is preserved) with the death of Linos, except on the Stieglitz Painter's cup where he holds him by the beard (74) - and raises his right arm to strike the deadly blow. In response, Linos extends his right arm towards Herakles, either in a gesture of supplication or in self-defence. A similar gesture is also repeated in all the other preserved representations of the subject, except on the Altamura Painter's krater in Bologna (77), where Linos raises a stick in his right hand to fight back. The Tyszkiewicz Painter's Linos still clutches his lyre in his drooping left hand. The murder weapon in most of the scenes is a stool, or part of a stool, though the angle at which Herakles holds it differs from picture to picture: here, Herakles has raised it right above his head. Uniquely amongst our extant representations of the subject, Linos' face on the Boston stamnos is depicted in three-quarter view, and the inclusion in this scene of an animal-legged footstool is also not repeated elsewhere. Most of the vases with the subject decorate the field with school paraphernalia, usually a hanging writing tablet, and the Boston stamnos is no exception.

Fragments of a cup tondo of about 480 BC by the Brygos Painter preserve the central part of the same scene. (73) (PL 46b) Of Linos we are unfortunately missing the head, left arm, the lower left leg and most of the rear half of the body. It is, therefore, impossible to be certain about his exact pose. I think, however, he must have been seated; he is collapsing backwards, both legs stretched out in front of him, but the right leg raised higher than the left, thus exposing the genitals through the transparent drapery. In all the certain examples we have where Linos falls to the ground, he either falls forward to right (77, 78), or he collapses backwards in three-quarter view, his left leg stretched out in front, thus hiding the genitals, and his right leg bent underneath him. (76) Neither of these attitudes finds a parallel here, and his pose is more analogous to the seated Linos by the Tyszkiewicz Painter. (72) Herakles' body is presented in three-quarter view in much the same way as he appears on the Briseis Painter's cup; (78) (PL 48b) and just as there he holds the stool out behind him so that its lower leg overlaps his body, so it must have been here since an elongated rectangle - the stool leg - crosses his torso just below chest level. Traces of a fluted column in the background are unique in the preserved iconography of the scene.¹²⁴

Another version of the subject with a seated Linos attacked by Herakles was executed by the Stieglitz Painter about 460 BC. (74) (PL 47a) Like the Brygos Painter's version this is found in a cup tondo, and both show the

lithe Herakles naked, and Linos well-clad in chiton and himation. This time, instead of sitting on a chair, the teacher is precariously perched on an altar-like block, and Prag comments that there may be some iconographical influence from scenes of the death of Priam.¹²⁵ It cannot actually be an altar because the writing tablet hanging in the field and the schoolmaster's narthex¹²⁶ propped up behind the figures, make it quite clear that the setting is the school-room. Boardman suggests that the presence of the stick may refer to Linos' beating of Herakles.¹²⁷ Although the motif of an attacker kneeling with one leg on the knee of his victim is not uncommon in red-figure, this is the only time we see such a pose employed for Herakles' attack on Linos.

The other vase with the seated type of Linos, a skyphos of about 460-50 BC by the Penthesilea Painter, is unfortunately badly damaged and published only with very poor photographic reproductions.¹²⁸ (75) (PL 47b) Linos' torso, head and left arm are missing, but he raises his right hand in front of Herakles, and behind the chair his lyre and plektron fall to the ground. It is difficult to be sure from the published illustrations, but Herakles' torso seems to be depicted in either three-quarter or more or less frontal pose perhaps not unlike the Briseis Painter's Herakles, (78) (PL 48b) but his right arm is raised in an unusual position to cross in front of his head, and the weapon he once held is missing as a result of the fragmentary state of the skyphos. It was probably not in

fact a stool, for the stool from which he has just risen still stands firmly on the ground behind him. The weapon may perhaps have been his lyre or simply, as on the Altamura Painter's krater, (77) his clenched fist.

The finest of the extant representations showing Linos collapsing to the ground under Herakles' onslaught decorates the exterior of a cup of about 480-70 BC by Douris.¹²⁹ (76) (PL 48a) It is also the only picture we have of Linos collapsing backwards to the earth which, in conjunction with the advancing fierce-eyed Herakles, creates a very dynamic effect. Herakles' pose here, in profile view except for his chest which is frontal, resembles most closely that which he adopts in the Stieglitz Painter's cup tondo, (74) (PL 47a) with the difference that he there kneels with the left foreleg on Linos' lap. The position of the stool in the raised right hand is also the same, though it has been broken in the ferocity of the attack and part of it falls to the ground behind Linos. On this vase, as on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's stamnos (72) and the Briseis Painter's cup (78), Linos still clutches his lyre in one hand, though it is only here that he appears to raise it as a weapon with which to strike back against his violent pupil. Four other boys, presumably Herakles' classmates, run off in horror to left and right.

The other two preserved and published vases with the subject, a volute-krater of 460-55 BC by the Altamura Painter (77) (PL 49a) and a very fragmentary cup of about

490-80 by the Briseis Painter, (78) (PL 48b) both show Linos collapsing to right in frontal view, with head turned back in profile towards Herakles. Herakles' frontal pose on the volute-krater with only left leg and head in profile to right, is comparable to the attitude he adopts on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's stannos, (72) (PL 46a) and the Briseis Painter's Herakles is not dissimilar. The naked attacking hero has a chlamys draped over his left arm in both the Altamura and Briseis painters' scenes. The instrument of murder on the cup is the usual stool, but the Altamura Painter is unique in the extant red-figure iconography of the subject in depicting Herakles fighting with his bare fists, while it is instead Linos who brandishes a weapon, namely a stick in his right hand. Perhaps again this is an indication that the version of the myth which related that Herakles was provoked to anger by an initial blow from Linos was already known in the fifth century. On the Altamura Painter's krater only one other figure is present, a boy fleeing to left, but traces of three companions survive on the Briseis Painter's cup, two of whom at least seem to be running towards, rather than away from Herakles, perhaps to try and stop him dealing the fatal blow. The Briseis Painter may have been the painter of a second, unpublished, version of this scene. (n 122 & see catalogue entry 78)

It is clear from the above analysis of the iconography of scenes of Herakles killing Linos that there is no single model or prototype which lies behind their inspiration. Individual elements and particular poses, on the other hand,

are used and reused in varying combinations. M Schmidt and J Prag have, furthermore, discussed the borrowing and cross-fertilisation of the iconography employed here with that in use for other subjects, in particular the deaths of Orpheus and Aigisthos.¹³⁰ Those scenes where Linos collapses to the ground in frontal view to right (77, 78) may be reusing the dying Orpheus motif, whilst the iconography of Herakles attacking the seated Linos is related to, and probably influenced, death of Aigisthos scenes. There is, furthermore, a particularly close relationship between the iconography of the death of Linos and death of Aigisthos representations in the work of the Tyszkiewicz Painter.¹³¹

On five of our preserved vases depicting the murder of Linos, Herakles bludgeons the teacher to death with a stool, or part of a stool. (72, 73, 74, 76, 78) The Altamura Painter's Herakles (77) uses only his fists, and the Penthesilea Painter's skyphos (75) is too damaged to permit identification of the instrument of death, though it is unlikely to have been Herakles' stool as this still stands on the ground behind him. According to Diodorus and Apollodoros, however, Herakles killed Linos with his kithara (n 121), while Aelian and the Suda tell us respectively that the weapon was a plektron or stone.¹³² In addition to this, where a musical instrument is visible in the pictures (72, 75, 76, 78), it is a lyre, not a kithara. Although it is possible that the fifth century literary and pictorial versions of the myth may have followed their own independent courses, there would seem to be little point in the vase-

painters substituting the stool for the kithara as the murder weapon, and it is therefore likely that at least one early fifth century literary version of the myth differed somewhat from the later preserved accounts.

On all eight preserved and published vases (71-78) depicting the schoolboy Herakles he looks, with the possible exception of the Brygos and Stieglitz painters' hero, (73, 74) (PLS 46b, 47a) like a fully-grown, well-muscled young man: the Brygos and Stieglitz painters represent him as a more svelte, lithe, adolescent figure. Otherwise, only his unbearded appearance and nudity or semi-nudity distinguish him as a figure younger than the bearded and more modestly-clad teacher. The age difference between the two is clearer on the Pistoxenos Painter's skyphos, (71) (PL 45) but this is the result of the painter's brilliant observation and reproduction of the aging process in Linos, and also the ravages of old age in Geropso, and not to any concession to markedly youthful features in the figure of Herakles. Maffre comments, with regard to the Brygos Painter's cup tondo, that aside from his more generally nubile physique Herakles here is clearly an adolescent figure because he has not as yet developed any pubic hair.¹³³ But unfortunately when we turn to representations of Herakles as a nude and bearded man we find that pubic growth is not a consistent iconographic feature of his adult state.¹³⁴ It is only through the pictorial and mythological context that we are able on most of these vases to interpret the Herakles figure as an adolescent schoolboy.

Herakles' manly facade whilst still a boy in years could perhaps have something to do with his heroic status: his twin, but mortal, brother Iphikles does have a slighter and more youthful appearance on the Pistoxenos Painter's skyphos. (71) (PL 45a) However, this does not hold true for Herakles' classmates who are depicted in the same fashion as the hero on Douris' cup. (76) (PL 48a) It thus seems more likely that Herakles' manly guise can be attributed to the vase-painters' lack of a pictorial type for the adolescent figure.

Iphikles

The only certain Attic red-figure representations we have of the childhood of Herakles' mortally-sired twin, Iphikles, are on the vases discussed above where Herakles strangles the snakes sent by Hera (66-69), and on the Pistoxenos Painter's skyphos (71) where Iphikles learns the lyre under Linos' tuition. Iphikles is not readily identifiable amongst the attendant youths in the death of Linos scenes on Douris' (76) or the Briseis Painter's (78) cups, but he may perhaps be the sole fleeing figure on the Altamura Painter's krater. (77) (PL 49a)

In those scenes where he is present it is as a contrast to, and as a foil for Herakles; the good, gentle-eyed pupil with Linos (71) or reaching out to his mother in terror of

the snakes in the cradle. (66-69) Perhaps the only notable thing about his iconography as a child, is that he twice appears in back view, looking behind him. (66, 67) (PLS 42b-43a)

Hyllos and the children of Herakles

Hyllos is first named as son of Herakles and Deianeira by Hesiod.¹³⁵ In extant Attic red-figure vase-painting he is identified once as a child in the arms of his mother by an inscription on a pelike of about 480-70 BC by the Siren Painter. (79) (PL 50b) Deianeira, also inscribed, stands facing to left, holding the long, lanky and most un-childlike naked Hyllos in both arms. The child twists in his mother's arms to reach out to his father Herakles (name inscribed), who stands clutching club and bow facing Deianeira. Behind Deianeira stands her father, Oineus (name inscribed), holding a stick in his left hand and raising his right. At the other side of the scene, behind Herakles, in corresponding pose to Oineus, but depicted on a larger scale, is Athena, Herakles' life-long protectress.

Four other Attic red-figure vases, and one black-figure amphora, bear scenes which, by analogy with the Siren Painter's picture, are probably also to be interpreted as illustrating Herakles, Deianeira and the infant Hyllos. Two of the earliest of these vases, a black-figure neck-amphora

of about 500 BC by the Diosphos Painter,¹³⁶ and a column-krater of about 480 by the Tyszkiewicz Painter (80) (PL 51), both follow the same general compositional formula, which differs markedly from the Siren Painter's version. Athena is nowhere to be seen, and indeed does not reappear in the extant red-figure scenes of the subject. Herakles, shifted to the left edge of the picture, already stands facing to right, but instead of being presented with his son by Deianeira, he and Oineus exchange greetings. Deianeira stands facing to left behind Oineus, and the child, naked on the black-figure vase but enveloped within Deianeira's mantle on the red-figure krater, twists in her arms to reach out to his father. A column is present in both scenes, though located differently, and a dog appears on the Diosphos Painter's fragments.

The other early red-figure illustration of the scene on an amphora fragment of about 490 BC also comes from the hand of the Tyszkiewicz Painter. (81) (PL 52a) The essential elements of the scene are more or less the same as on his column-krater and on the Diosphos Painter's amphora: Herakles greeted by a man, here with sceptre and again probably Oineus, and a woman standing by with a child in her arms, most likely Deianeira with Hyllos. But the positioning of the figures is reversed: Oineus stands at the right edge of the picture facing left towards Herakles as they shake hands, and Deianeira with the child here stands facing to right behind Herakles.

A lekythos in Oxford decorated in the middle years of the fifth century shows a very different composition. (82) (PLS 49b & 50a) Here the woman is seated on a klismos facing to right with the naked child, who again twists in her arms. The only other figure in the scene is Herakles, who stands before them and reaches out his right arm to the child. There is probably influence here from the work of the Villa Giulia Painter who, as we have seen, decorated two kraters with scenes of the infant Dionysos in the arms of the seated Hermes and stretching out his arms to a standing nymph. (11, 12) (PL 8a-b)

Herakles standing in front of a seated woman and child occurs a second time on a fourth century bell-krater by the Pourtalès Painter. (83) (PL 52b) But the woman is here seated on a klismos facing left towards Herakles, and the child though still reaching out to his father no longer retains his twisted pose. The number of figures in the scene has expanded again: the seated man behind Herakles may perhaps be Oineus, while a servant woman stands behind Deianeira, and a youth to extreme right may possibly be Iolaos. Unlike the Oxford lekythos (82) with seated woman and child where the setting is confirmed as an indoor one by a mirror hanging from the wall, this fourth century scene is located outdoors by the presence of a tree, an open window, columns and a herm. Of all the above representations which may show Herakles with Deianeira and Hyllos, only on this occasion are husband and wife semi-naked.

Herakles with his wife and child is therefore an infrequently represented subject in preserved Attic vase-painting, but one in use over a considerable period of time, that is between about 500-380, all but one of the extant representations being in the red-figure technique. Herakles had several consorts and many children,¹³⁷ and so it is only on the Siren Painter's pelike where the names are inscribed that we can be absolutely sure that this is Deianeira and Hyllos. Furthermore, the other preserved pictures are iconographically quite different both from this vase and from each other (-with perhaps the exception of the child figure itself on all the vases other than that by the Pourtales Painter (83)-) and thus there is no guarantee that the identity of wife and child is always the same. But since Hyllos was the oldest and most important son of Herakles, leading the Herakleidae against Eurystheus, it is most likely to be he and his mother.¹³⁸ The fourth century bell-krater, however, may be an exception: not only is the iconography of the child different from that on the other vases but the representation as a whole seems distinct from the earlier depictions due to the various features I have discussed above. By the time this vase was decorated, about 380 BC, Euripides' Herakles and Herakleidae (see p 207), which featured several of the young sons of Herakles but not Hyllos, were well known, and I wonder whether this representation might not loosely be connected with or inspired by these dramas. This is, furthermore, the only vase on which Herakles and his wife appear semi-naked: this may perhaps be due to the

later date of the representation, but whereas it seems to me that on the other vases we most likely have a leave-taking scene,¹³⁹ with Herakles fully dressed for combat complete with lionskin, club and sometimes also bow, he seems here perfectly relaxed in the Pourtales Painter's family scene, leaning on his club, himation draped casually over one arm and not a lionskin or bow in sight. Might he just have returned home from one of his expeditions, with the servant woman to right about to make a libation in thanksgiving? We shall find a comparable pair of red-figure themes illustrating the story of Amphiaraos: whilst three vases depict the departure of the fully-armed warrior from his wife and son (177-179) (PLS 104-105a), a fourth vase (180) (PL 105b) shows him partially draped in a himation and leaning in relaxed fashion on a staff as he observes the very domestic scene of Eriphyle suckling Alkmaion.

Since we have only six Attic vases spread over a period of some one-hundred-and-twenty years depicting this Heraklian domestic theme, we should be cautious in drawing conclusions from them. It is certainly clear that there is no one iconographic type which is followed, but the representations may perhaps fall into three chronologically defined groups. In the black-figure (n 136) and Late Archaic red-figure examples (80, 81) the focus of the scene is on the meeting between Herakles and Oineus, while Deianeira with Hyllos stands to one side. But even here there is no one common iconographic schema in use: this is particularly clear from the two different versions painted by the

Tyszkiewicz Painter (80, 81). The close of the Late Archaic period provides us with a different illustration of the scene; Deianeira, still standing, presents Herakles with his son whilst Oineus and Athena look on. (79) This is the same schema which we shall see in contemporary use to depict the infant Oinopion presented to Dionysos by a woman, probably Ariadne, (171) (PL 101) and also a decade or so later for scenes of the infant Dionysos reaching out to his father Zeus from the arms of a nymph. (6, 8) (PLS 3b, 4b-5) Our earliest extant vase with the seated Deianeira, again presenting Hyllos directly to his father, dates to the mid-fifth century (82), and this same basic group - whatever the identity of woman and child - is found also still in use some seventy years later, on the early fourth century krater. (83) I think it is significant that it is only on these two later vases that Herakles expresses some real interest in his child. Even on the Siren Painter's stamnos (79) where Deianeira holds the boy out to her husband, Herakles, clutching club and bow, looks preoccupied - perhaps by thoughts of imminent combat - and does not even look at his son. On the Oxford lekythos, however, he stretches out a hand to the boy (82), and on the Munich krater even goes so far as to take the child in his arms. (83) Such expression of paternal affection, as well as the less formal, more intimate atmosphere of these scenes - the Oxford lekythos stressing the domestic setting by a hanging mirror - rarely occur in Attic vase-painting before the mid-fifth century.

With the exception of the infant on the Pourtales Painter's bell-krater, the most consistent figure iconographically on all these vases showing Herakles with wife and child is the child himself. He is usually naked and turns in his mother's arms to reach out towards his father, so that his lower and upper body point in different directions, creating a strong diagonal line: but even though the general pose is the same, differences abound such as the direction towards which he stretches, or his half-muffled state folded within his mother's himation on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's krater. (80) Furthermore, this is something of a standard pose for children in greeting or farewell scenes: see, for example, the infant Dionysos brought by Zeus or Hermes to the nymphs of Nysa (6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14), the little Achilles brought to Chiron by Hermes (108) or the young Oinopion reaching out to Dionysos from the arms of Ariadne or a nymph. (171) An infant satyr is similarly depicted in twisting pose in the arms of a maenad as he reaches out to a second figure on a stamnos by the Phiale Painter;¹⁴⁰ and that it is an attitude also used for mortal children is shown by its occurrence on a white-ground funerary lekythos by the Bosanquet Painter where a child in the arms of a servant twists round to stretch out his arms to no avail to his seated mother.¹⁴¹

Apart from his presence in the family scene with Herakles and Deianeira, Hyllos, perhaps surprisingly, appears rarely in Attic vase-painting or, come to that, in the art of the Classical world at all: he may perhaps be the

boy following Herakles on an Attic red-figure cup fragment by Onesimos.¹⁴² (89) (see p 215)

As for the many other children of Herakles, although we know that various myths involving Herakles and his children were current in the fifth century, illustrations of these, other than the scenes discussed above with the tranquil domestic setting, are lacking in preserved Attic red-figure iconography. The cast of Euripides' Herakleidae included Makaria, daughter of Herakles, and several young sons of Herakles, and Aischylos too had written a Herakleidae. In Euripides' Herakles three of the hero's young sons are present at the beginning of the play, though they never speak, and are later killed offstage by their father under the influence of the madness sent by Hera. These themes with the children of Herakles were, however, popular in South Italian vase-painting.¹⁴³ Nor apparently were the children of Herakles absent from the field of large-scale painting: Apollodoros, and perhaps also Pamphilos, in the late fifth or early fourth century are reported to have painted Alkmene with the children of Herakles as suppliants of the Athenians.¹⁴⁴

Lichas and Philoktetes

Five Attic red-figure vases, all but one of them kraters, dating to 430-390, show the sacrifice of Herakles

to Chryse on his way to Troy.¹⁴⁵ The story is known to us from the ancient sources only in the scholia on Sophokles' Philoktetes and in Philostratos,¹⁴⁶ and we are told that Philoktetes was present with Herakles on this occasion.

Two boys or youths attend Herakles at the sacrifice on all the vases depicting the subject (-with the exception of the Taranto krater (86), where the figure to right of the altar has been destroyed). The earliest representation, a very fragmentary bell-krater of about 430 BC in London, which is the name vase of the Painter of London E494, (84) (PL 53a) shows an altar of unhewn boulders crowned by sticks of wood laid in four layers, on top of which a fire burns with what should probably be interpreted as an ox-tail¹⁴⁷ and other debris. To right of the altar is a Doric column with the lower half of a draped statue perched on top. To left of the altar a tree is hung with votive pinakes. To right of the altar a naked wreathed boy stands holding a long spit skewered with meat over the fire. A similar figure stood to left also holding a long spit, though only the top of his head remains. Luckily this figure is inscribed ΦΙΛΟΚΕΤ and the first two letters, ΑΙ, remain of the inscription beside the other boy: these are Philoktetes and Lichas, two of Herakles' faithful companions and attendants. Herakles stands to left of the altar watching proceedings, and his divine protectress Athena looks on from the opposite side of the scene. A second female figure was also present between Athena and Lichas, though only her right hand and part of her drapery survive. The vertical object behind

Herakles is usually interpreted as the stern of his ship.¹⁴⁸

Some twenty or thirty years later another bell-krater was decorated with the subject. (85) (PL 53b) This time the whole of the statue is preserved, draped in similar fashion to the statue on the London krater and perched again on a Doric column; she is labelled XPYZH. Her altar is also very similar in that it is constructed of piled-up stones. This time, however, the sacrifice has not yet begun and Herakles (inscribed), again standing to left of the altar, beckons to a youth wearing chlamys and petasos and carrying two spears to bring forward the sacrificial bull; the youth is labelled IOAERN and must be Iolaos, Herakles' nephew and his most constant friend and helper.¹⁴⁹ On the right of the picture a naked wreathed boy with a stick in his hand is bending down towards a casket placed on the ground. He is the only figure in the scene who is not named by an inscription, but since we know that the young Philoktetes was present at this sacrifice it is reasonable to assume it is he. To the immediate right of the altar a Nike (inscribed) assists with sacrificial vessel and basket: her presence signifies that Herakles will meet with success on his expedition to Troy.

The other three vases bearing the subject, all dating to 400-390, exhibit a very close iconographical relationship to one another. The best preserved of the three is a pelike by the Kiev Painter. (87) (PL 54a) In the centre Chryse once more stands atop a Doric column, her wood-crowned, rock-pile altar below. Herakles, now beardless and leaning

on his club, again stands to left of the altar, holding a laurel branch. A boy stands quietly to right of the altar, carrying exactly the same sacrificial paraphernalia that we saw in the hands of Nike on the Vienna bell-krater. (85) A second boy approaches from the left, struggling to control the sacrificial bull he leads. Athena looks on from top right, while Hermes converses with a seated youth at top left. Apollo sits below to extreme right, talking with a standing man whom Fröning identifies as Hephaistos.¹⁵⁰

Only the central part of this scene is preserved on volute-krater fragments by the Painter of the New York Centauromachy. (88) (PL 54b) Herakles' appearance and attitude here is very similar to the Kiev Painter's hero, except that he leans on a knotted stick rather than a club, and holds a fillet instead of a laurel branch. His name was here inscribed. His two boy attendants also bear a strong resemblance to the Kiev Painter's figures, and the boy approaching from left with the bull is named ΛΙΧΑΣ. The other boy is this time naked but holds the same sacrificial equipment: again, we may tentatively call him Philoktetes. Strangely, however, although the central rock-built altar appears once again, the statue of Chryse on her column seems to have been replaced by a large acanthus stalk, and a tripod on a Doric column appears to left of Herakles. Traces of drapery above the head of Lichas and behind (?)Philoktetes attest the presence of two further figures, corresponding perhaps to the seated youth with spears and to Athena on the Kiev Painter's pelike.

Also fragmentary is the kalyx-krater in Taranto bearing the same scene. (86) (PL 53c) There are traces of the central rock-pile altar and the lower half of a Chryse statue, though here she stands on an Ionic, not a Doric column as on the other vases. Herakles on the left of the altar is very similar to the corresponding figure on the pelike and volute-krater (87, 88), except that here he is empty-handed and his head is missing. A youth again approaches from left with the bull, and indications of a figure with sacrificial equipment, most probably a second boy, survive to right of the altar. Three further figures, or parts of figures, are located in corresponding positions to those on the Kiev Painter's pelike, although the standing onlooker at top left is not distinguished as Hermes.

The London bell-krater (84) clearly stands apart both in time and iconography from the other vases decorated with the subject. The representation on the Vienna bell-krater (85), produced slightly earlier than the Taranto and St Petersburg vases, which iconographically seem to belong together (86, 87, 88), does however exhibit some similar features to these: a youthful figure approaches from left with a bull, the same casket lies by the altar as on the Taranto krater (86), the sacrificial equipment though held here by a Nike is the same and Herakles, similarly draped and standing to left of the altar, raises his left hand in the same gesture. But these similarities to the three later vases are outweighed by the differences: Herakles is bearded and long-haired and turns his head to left in profile whilst

beckoning with his right hand, the youth - named Iolaos, not Lichas - approaching with meek bull carries spears and wears his petasos, the boy to right of the altar stoops towards a casket whilst Nike acts as sacrificial assistant, and the composition is altogether a simpler and less populous affair.

The Taranto and St Petersburg scenes (86, 87, 88) seem so closely related as to suggest they were all influenced by a common pictorial model. Attempts to identify this prototype have given rise to various hypotheses over the years.¹⁵¹ The agreement between the vase-painters in their representation of the sanctuary of Chryse in scenes both of the sacrifice of Herakles (84-88) and earlier in scenes of Philoktetes bitten by the snake in the sanctuary of Chryse,¹⁵² and also their general agreement with Sophokles' description of Chryse's shrine,¹⁵³ has been interpreted by Fröning as suggestive of the existence of a Chryse sanctuary in Athens. Chryse was particularly associated with Lemnos and its vicinity, but it is unlikely that Bielefeld was correct in mooted that the vase-painters were inspired by her sanctuary in such a distant location. If Fröning is right and Chryse did have a sanctuary in Athens with which the vase-painters were familiar, it is however strange that on the volute-krater fragment by the Painter of the New York Centaureomachy (88) her statue is apparently substituted by a huge acanthus stem,¹⁵⁴ and on the Taranto kalyx-krater (86) she stands atop an Ionic and not a Doric column, Doric being the order illustrated by the Kiev Painter and the artists

responsible for the London and Vienna vases. (84, 85, 87) That the Chryse statue in the earlier paintings, depicting Philoktetes bitten by the snake in her sanctuary (n 152), stands on a podium rather than a column as she does in the later paintings (84-88) could perhaps be explained by a refurbishment of the sanctuary sometime between 450-30. But the acanthus stem and Ionic column are harder to account for, although the latter may simply have been a "mistake" on the part of the painter. However, the existence of a sanctuary of Chryse in Athens, decorated with votive pinakes and perhaps wall-paintings depicting myths related to the cult, such as Herakles' sacrifice and Philoktetes bitten by the snake, would account for the reproduction of our three very similar vase scenes with Herakles. (86, 87, 88) It also obviates the rather unlikely dependence of the painted scenes on our known dramatic sources: both Sophokles' Philoktetes, produced in 409 BC, and Euripides' lost play of the same name, produced in 431, almost certainly did not go further than a brief mention of Philoktetes' attendance at Herakles' sacrifice to Chryse on the way to Troy.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, Philoktetes' identity in all the painted scenes, except on the London krater, is too uncertain, and his role too changeable (-he holds a roasting spit on 84, may be the figure reaching for the casket on 85, and may bear the sacrificial equipment on 86, 87 & 88-) to make dramatic inspiration seem responsible, though Fröning suggests the existence of another literary version, now lost to us, which perhaps gave more emphasis to the sacrifice of Herakles to Chryse.¹⁵⁶

On all the extant vases showing Herakles sacrificing in Chryse's sanctuary Lichas and Philoktetes appear as boys, smaller in stature than the other figures in the scenes. Lichas probably appears four times: certainly on the London krater where he holds a roasting spit (84) and on the volute-krater fragments by the Painter of the New York Centauromachy where he brings the bull (88), and probably, by analogy with this vase, also approaching with the bull on the Taranto krater and the Kiev Painter's pelike. (86, 87) On the Vienna krater (85) it is Iolaos who leads the bull forward, though as I have noted (n 149) he is there a somewhat older youth. Iolaos may also be the identity of the youth seated to top left and conversing with Hermes on the Kiev Painter's pelike. (87) Hooker thought this was Ares (n 145), but Froning has pointed out that the figure sports the same traveller's footwear as does the boy below (Lichas?) who brings the bull, and also like this boy and the second boy on the right side of the altar (Philoktetes?) the petasos. (n 145) She therefore suggests that he is a third mortal attendant of Herakles. Since Iolaos is often shown as a young man carrying a pair of spears - as, for example, on the Vienna bell-krater where he also wears petasos, chlamys and footgear - and this is also the case here, I propose that this is most likely to be Iolaos. Philoktetes probably appeared on all five vases, although his presence is assured only once by an inscription on the London krater. (84) However, since the ancient literary sources tell us he was present on the occasion of this sacrifice to Chryse (n 146), he is probably the boy standing

to right of the altar on the other vases.¹⁵⁷ Lichas and Philoktetes assisting Herakles at the sacrifice in these pictures are, furthermore, paralleled in mortal scenes of sacrifice, where one or two boys frequently appear as helpers to the officiating priest.¹⁵⁸

Finally, we come to the little boy accompanying Herakles in the tondo of a cup by Onesimos. (89) (PL 55a) Herakles, dressed in short chiton and lionskin and fully armed with club and bow, strides ahead to left, followed by a little figure who is unfortunately only partly preserved. But we can see that he wears petasos, chlamys and high-laced sandals and carries a stick, from which a fardel or wineskin was probably suspended, over his shoulder. The obverse of the cup shows Herakles battling with the sons of Eurytos at Oichalia, while Dyfri Williams has suggested that the scene on the reverse (inscribed ΟΩΣ) presents Herakles slaying the Dryopes, Eurytos' ancestors, in the sanctuary of Apollo.¹⁵⁹ He goes on to propose that the subject of the tondo picture is related to the exterior scenes, and may therefore show Herakles departing with his son Hyllos after the sack of Oichalia.¹⁶⁰ Beazley preferred to think of the little boy as perhaps Philoktetes, the arms-bearer of Herakles.¹⁶¹

Based on the iconographical evidence of our extant Attic red-figure vases which show Heraklian and associated children, I think the little boy on Onesimos' cup is most likely to be Philoktetes or Lichas. As we have seen above on the London bell-krater (84) (PL 53a) and St Petersburg

volute-krater (88) (PL 54b) where their names are inscribed, they appear with Herakles as young boys of about the same stature (though naked or semi-naked) as the child on Onesimos' cup. And on the Kiev Painter's pelike, (87) (PL 54a) where they are probably also present, they sport the petasos and similar sturdy footwear as does Onesimos' boy. Perhaps the major objection to recognising the boy as either Lichas or Philoktetes is that all our preserved representations of these two as children (84-88) date to the period 430-390, while the boy on the cup was painted about 490. But the absence of assured representations of Lichas and Philoktetes in this earlier period may of course be due to chance preservation of our extant vases. Depictions of the young Hyllos, on the other hand, are known from the Late Archaic period (79, 80, 81) (PLS 50b, 51, 52a), but Hyllos as a child appears in extant Attic red-figure iconography only as a baby, and not as a boy.

THESEUS

A study of the red-figure scenes depicting the youthful deeds of Theseus allows us to examine in more detail the iconography of the adolescent figure.

One of Theseus' early adventures was his visit to the watery kingdom of his father Poseidon, on which occasion his stepmother Amphitrite gave him a wreath and mantle.¹⁶² Two of these vases, a well-known cup in the Louvre potted by Euphronios and painted by Onesimos about 495 BC, (PL 56) and a kalyx-krater in Bologna decorated about 420 by the Kadmos Painter,¹⁶³ (PL 55b) depict Theseus in such a fashion that a purely visual evaluation of his figure would suggest that the hero is here a young boy. However, when we also take into consideration the mythological tradition for the story preserved in the contemporary literary sources, a re-examination of the boyish figure of Theseus in both scenes suggests that we are presented not with a child, but our hero already come to the very earliest stages of manhood. Theseus is not therefore a "child", as I have defined that term in my introduction, and thus does not appear in my catalogue of children: but his very absence generates a different perspective on the iconography of children in Attic red-figure vase-painting and serves as a useful warning against the subjective interpretation of ancient pictorial images.

Onesimos depicts Theseus standing before the seated

Amphitrite as they greet each other. (PL 56a) He is dressed in a short, flimsy chiton, which can be compared to that worn by the little figure I have identified as Erichthonios in a cup tondo painted in the manner of Onesimos. (58) (PL 36b) Theseus' hair, circled by a thin fillet, otherwise falls freely to his shoulders. This coiffure is unusual for our hero: Theseus is depicted many times in Attic red-figure performing his deeds as a young man or youth in the first flush of manhood with his long locks bound up at the back of his head so as not to interfere with the action.¹⁶⁴ Athena, resplendent with helmet, aegis, spear and owl stands by, and her attendance here on the occasion of Theseus' visit to the sea bed is unique in preserved Attic red-figure iconography. Nor is her presence alluded to in the known literary accounts of the visit - more of which presently - and presumably Onesimos has included her as a vital part of the composition as Theseus' protector in order to emphasise the hero's strong Athenian connections, alongside the demonstration of his divine pedigree through the greeting of his stepmother Amphitrite. In much the same way, the Berlin Painter adds Athena to the cast of characters in his scene of the infant Herakles strangling the snakes sent by Hera. (66) (PL 42b) Theseus' boyish appearance is underscored by his small stature at the side of Athena and Amphitrite.

The Kadmos Painter's krater presents us with a different image of Theseus before Amphitrite. (PL 55b) On both the Louvre cup and the Bologna krater Theseus is

brought to his stepmother by a Triton, but whereas Onesimos depicts a little swimming Triton bearing Theseus along by the feet, in the Kadmos Painter's picture the Triton is a full-sized figure who holds the naked hero in his arms in much the same way that Ge, for example, holds out the baby Erichthonios to Athena (44, 48) (PLS 28b, 31) or Hermes presents the infant Dionysos to the nymphs. (11, 12) (PL 8) On the Bologna krater then it is not Theseus' physical stature and general appearance that at first suggest to us that the painter has depicted him as a child, but rather his posture which is that usually employed in Attic red-figure for the representation of children in scenes of greeting or farewell (see p 206), and furthermore his physical relationship both to the Triton and to Amphitrite, towards whom he stretches out his arms to grasp her by the knee and thigh.

However, let us now turn to what we know of the mythological tradition for this occasion from the preserved fifth century written sources. The poet Bacchylides wrote an ode on the theme of Theseus' visit to the bottom of the sea sometime between 481 and 470.¹⁶⁵ According to Bacchylides, this visit took place during the voyage to Crete on which Theseus was accompanying Minos and his tribute of seven Athenian maidens and seven youths. Minos, throwing a gold ring into the sea, challenged Theseus to prove his divine parentage by retrieving the ring. Our hero duly dived into the ocean and was escorted by dolphins to Poseidon's palace: there he saw the Nereids dancing and met Amphitrite, who bestowed on him a special wreath and mantle

as tokens of his divine paternity, and with these he returned to his ship.

Bacchylides makes no comment in his ode about Theseus' age at the time of this adventure. But if we turn to dithyramb XVII by the same poet, in which King Aigeus and a chorus of Athenians discuss the progress of the, as yet to them anonymous, hero on his first journey to Athens from Troizen, he there tells us (56-7) that Theseus is "παῖδα δ' ἔμμεν πρόθετον". Jebb translates this as "a youth he is in earliest manhood", and Edmonds as "a lad he is first come to manhood".¹⁶⁶ Now we know from the mythological tradition for Theseus' early life, thanks to later works such as Plutarch's Life of Theseus,¹⁶⁷ that the sequence of events went like this: Aigeus begets Theseus by Aithra, and on leaving her hides his sword and sandals under a rock, telling her that if she should bear a son she must show him the rock when he comes of age. If he is able to lift the rock and remove his father's possessions - surely symbolic not only as proof of the father-son relationship but also as a rite of passage, marking the transition from boyhood to manhood - she is to send the young man to Athens to make himself known to his father. In due course Aithra shows Theseus the rock, which he lifts to recover his father's tokens and sets out for Athens, on the road whence he performs many brave deeds in ridding the land of cruel and monstrous characters. It is only once he has reached Athens and has been recognised by Aigeus that he sets off to Crete with Minos and the Athenian human tribute. This same

sequence of events is very likely to have existed already in the mythology current in the first quarter of the fifth century.

The Louvre cup was decorated about 495 BC, and so antedates Bacchylides' ode about the visit of Theseus to Amphitrite. But it proves that this visit was already part of mythological lore by the opening years of the fifth century, as also was most likely to have been the lifting of the rock by Theseus to discover Aigeus' hidden symbols.¹⁶⁸ Admittedly, this is not certainly shown in preserved Attic red-figure vase-painting until some time after 470 on a lekythos by the Sabouroff Painter (-although a cup in Athens painted by an artist near the Pithos Painter and dating to the last decades of the sixth century may have earlier illustrated this theme-),¹⁶⁹ but the cycle of Theseus' adventures on his journey from Troizen to Athens was already a popular subject in Attic red-figure from about 510 onwards.¹⁷⁰ H Fröning has argued that the story of Theseus' visit to the bottom of the sea, which is clearly a mythological element older than Bacchylides' poem, was first set within the Cretan adventure by Bacchylides.¹⁷¹ This may be so, but since the very boyish-looking Theseus in Onesimos' cup tondo is already wearing his father's sword, the episode must at least be thought of as taking place subsequent to his retrieval of Aigeus' tokens from beneath the rock. Theseus has therefore already come of age.

So why does he still look so boyish in Onesimos' cup

tondo? If we turn to the pictures on the exterior of the cup we see Theseus there performing four of his deeds: (PL 56b) he battles Skiron, Prokrustes, Kerkyon and the Marathonian bull. Excepting the episode of the Marathonian bull, all these adventures took place in the course of his first journey from Troizen to Athens. Here he appears naked, as a well-muscled and sturdily-built young man grown to full adult stature, with whiskers sprouting on his cheeks. Yet whatever the precise order of events in the early life of Theseus as current in the mythological tradition which ante-dated Bacchylides, the time lapse between Theseus' adventures en route to Athens, his visit to the sea bed and his battle with the Marathonian bull could not have been so considerable as to warrant depicting the hero at noticeably distinct life-stages. Why therefore the difference between Theseus' appearance on the interior and exterior of the cup? Firstly, his hair which is bound up in the exterior pictures in order to keep it out of his way whilst fighting, falls freely to his shoulders in the reposeful tondo scene, and makes him look younger. Secondly, the addition of the short chiton on the tondo figure also gives the impression of a younger Theseus. Yet the bodily forms visible beneath the transparent stuff are just as well-developed as is his physique on the exterior of the cup. The other factor contributing to his boyish appearance is his diminutive stature by the side of Athena and Amphitrite. But apart from the fact that their status as divinities is underscored by their greater stature, Onesimos has also been constrained in his representation of

Theseus by the available tondo space, which permits no larger a figure than that which he has painted.

When we turn to look at another vase by Onesimos, a cup in Perugia, (ch 4, n 65) (PL 78) we find the same contrast between the figure of Troilos in the interior and exterior scenes: in the tondo Troilos slaughtered by Achilles has the appearance of a boy, whilst in the exterior scene where he is dragged towards the altar by Achilles before the murder he is a figure represented in the same manly fashion as Achilles. I discuss this cup in greater detail in chapter four, (p 311-12) and there suggest that the reason for the discrepancy between the appearance of Troilos in the two scenes is that Onesimos wished in his scene of the slaughter of Troilos to emphasise the horror and pathos of the moment, and achieved this by giving the victim a boyish facade. It seems reasonable to suggest a similar exploitation of pathos on the part of Onesimos in the Louvre tondo scene with Theseus, since the particularly youthful appearance of the hero here is appropriate to the role he adopts as the son seeking recognition, acceptance and protection from a parent. I venture to suggest, however, that Onesimos in painting this tondo picture did not intend, or indeed expect, his viewer to interpret the figure of Theseus as a child. A youth in the latest phase of adolescence certainly, but as such he has reached the age at which he can take up arms and enter combat and, at least in this respect, has thus attained the status of a man and left behind childhood. The viewer of this picture something a

little less than two-and-a-half thousand years ago, with his knowledge of and conversance with current mythological trends and his experience of life within the context of the fifth century Athenian social order, would have understood this immediately. We today, on the other hand, divorced from the social and cultural context in which these pictures first saw the light of day, find it all too easy and natural to interpret ancient pictorial images in the context of our own social and cultural understanding.

The Kadmos Painter's picture of Theseus' visit to the sea bed comes from near the end of the fifth century, around 420. (PL 55b) Our hero is naked here and there is no trace of Aigeus' sword in this scene, so we cannot assume that the episode is taking place subsequent to Theseus' coming of age when he recovered his father's tokens from beneath the rock. It is possible that in some now lost, later fifth century version of the story, Theseus was still a boy when he visited the kingdom of his father Poseidon. However, this is unlikely: the hero had already similarly appeared being carried in the arms of a large Triton in Melian clay reliefs of about 470,¹⁷² at a time when all the evidence points to Theseus' visit to the sea bed having been perceived as taking place after he had come of age. Furthermore, the Kadmos Painter depicted Theseus in the guise of a youth or young man lifting the rock to reveal the gnomismata on a skyphos in Ferrara.¹⁷³

Jacobsthal, however, drawing parallels between the

group of Triton, Theseus and Amphitrite and the group of Ge, Erichthonios and Athena as represented in Attic red-figure, interpreted the Theseus figure on the Bologna krater as a small child reaching out to grasp his stepmother.¹⁷⁴ Fröning, on the other hand, has come up with a much better explanation of Theseus' gesture towards Amphitrite. She reminds us of Thetis' behaviour, as recounted in the Iliad, when she approaches Zeus to plead on Achilles' behalf concerning the removal of Briseis by Agamemnon.¹⁷⁵ Homer tells us that she clasps his knees in prayer as she beseeches him to grant her request.¹⁷⁶ Theseus here surely clasps Amphitrite's knees as he entreats her to endow on him the wreath she holds, so that he might return to Minos with proof of his divine parentage, although the mantle and ring are nowhere to be seen. This gesture on the part of the hero fits in better with his general physical appearance as a fully-grown figure, with well-muscled body and short hair.

There has been much discussion over the years concerning the inspiration behind the Kadmos Painter's picture of Theseus' visit to the bottom of the sea.¹⁷⁷ Pausanias (I.17.3) tells us that Mikon painted a scene in the Theseion on the theme, and this has been dated to soon after 475,¹⁷⁸ which must have been approximately contemporary with Bacchylides' creation of his ode. Furthermore, the presence of two tripods on columns in the Kadmos Painter's picture suggests some dramatic influence.¹⁷⁹ A simple revival of Bacchylides' ode is unlikely at such a distance in time, especially since the

late fifth century saw a blossoming and proliferation of the dithyrambic form. Perhaps the best solution is to postulate the creation of a new and victorious dithyramb about 420 BC on the subject of Theseus' visit to the sea bed. It is then possible that this dramatic victory was celebrated by a new wall-painting, which inspired the Kadmos Painter's picture: or perhaps a new dithyramb revived interest in Mikon's old painting in the Theseion and the Kadmos Painter, whilst inspired by the latter, at the same time added into his picture the victory tripods and the figure of the reclining Poseidon (-which Jacobsthal has demonstrated was not a known iconographic type until after Mikon's time¹⁸⁰-), who may have appeared in the new dithyramb.

The interpretation of Onesimos' Louvre cup tondo and the Kadmos Painter's Bologna kalyx-krater as presenting us with a youthful but not child Theseus, corresponds with the iconography of the other surviving representations of Theseus' visit to Amphitrite. The Briseis Painter's kylix in New York, dating to about 480-75 depicts our hero standing before his stepmother: dressed in short, belted chiton, his long locks piled up on his head in ornate fashion, he more closely resembles the youthful Theseus figure with whom we are more generally familiar in Attic red-figure.¹⁸¹ Aigeus' sword nestling in its sheath by his side confirms he has already come of age. A pointed amphora of similar date in a Swiss private collection, is the other extant vase showing Theseus' visit to Amphitrite.¹⁸² The figure of Theseus is unfortunately

badly damaged, but we can see that he was represented as a full-sized figure in short, belted chiton.

The wreath which Amphitrite bestowed upon her stepson is shown in all four extant representations of the meeting between hero and goddess.¹⁸³ Interestingly, that worn by Theseus on the exterior of the Briseis Painter's kylix as he prepares to depart from the sea bed in Triton's arms, and also that held out to him by Amphitrite on the Kadmos Painter's krater could well be composed of roses, a representation which would correspond with Bacchylides' description (113-6) of the wreath. The mantle, on the other hand, appears only on the Briseis Painter's cup, and Minos' ring is altogether missing. With the exception of the scene on the pointed amphora, a Triton appears each time carrying Theseus either to or from the sea bed: Onesimos and the Kadmos Painter show the Triton bearing him to Amphitrite, for he does not yet wear the wreath, while the exterior of the Briseis Painter's cup depicts a massive Triton about to depart with Theseus, now wearing the very fine wreath. The Melian reliefs, furthermore, again present Theseus in Triton's arms (n 172). Bacchylides makes no mention of a Triton, but rather specifies that dolphins were Theseus' escort, and indeed they too appear on Onesimos' cup. Whether the Triton's role was described in another variant of the myth, or whether it was an artistic invention is hard to tell.

Originally Theseus had been a hero of Troizen, but when

in the late sixth century he was appropriated by the Athenians as a peculiarly Attic hero, his mythology was adapted to accommodate the claims of both cities.¹⁸⁴ Thus he was considered to have been born and reared in Troizen, but on coming of age left the city of his divine father, Poseidon, for that of his mortal father, the Athens of Aigeus. There was indeed, therefore, little reason for Attic mythology to recount any episodes of his childhood or for Attic vase-painters to depict him as a child.¹⁸⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Heroic Attic children are essentially a red-figure, rather than a black-figure, subject. We have one Late Archaic black-figure birth of Erichthonios, but three further black-figure vases which depict this hero as a child date to the middle and second half of the fifth century, and thus well into the red-figure period. (see n 3 & n 26) Further in black-figure, there is only one representation of the infant Herakles in the arms of Hermes (n 110), and a sole surviving example of the child Hyllos. (n 136)

In general, mythological Attic children occur in vase-painting fairly consistently throughout the fifth century. Their appearance and continued representation in red-figure can perhaps be understood as a reflection of local patriotism during the periods of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, whilst in the middle years of the fifth century the young Triptolemos in particular may have symbolised the civilising influence of the Athenian Empire.

Certainly the most frequently represented Attic child, Erichthonios, starts to be represented on vases around the time of the Persian hostilities (58 & n 3) and is favoured later during the period of the Peloponnesian War. (48, 49, 50, 51 & notes 3 & 26) He is, however, also popular in the intervening years and his general long-lived popularity with the vase-painters may be a reflection of the probable connection of his mythology with the important Arrephoria

festival.¹⁸⁶ He is, furthermore, a particular favourite with the Meidias Painter (49, 50, 51), whose inclusion of Basileia and Soteria on one of his vases with Erichthonios (50) may mirror concerns raised by the Peloponnesian War for the sovereignty and safety of Athens.

Indeed, the Meidias Painter and his group seem to have favoured Attic children generally, painting further scenes with Eumolpos (63) and probably also Kephalos. (60, 61, 62) The influence of the Eretria Painter, who had earlier depicted the baby Kephalos, (59) is particularly clear in these pictures. Between them, the Meidias and Eretria painters and their followers were responsible for illustrating unusual Attic heroic children: Eumolpos and Kephalos appear as infants only in their work, and our single picture of Mousaios as a boy comes from the hand of the Eretria Painter. (64) The Meidias Painter and his group, furthermore, combine their affection for mythological childhood themes with their fondness for scenes of women: a lekythos in Cleveland with the birth of Erichthonios (49) and a second lekythos from Epidauros perhaps depicting the same subject (51) both display an all-woman cast which is unique amongst extant representations of this child's birth. The baby probably to be identified as Kephalos is also accompanied only by women (60, 61, 62), and the figures surrounding the little Eumolpos are all female with the exception of Mousaios and Eros. (63) To this list of Meidian vases depicting mythological children in a female gathering can be added the Asklepios plate discussed in

chapter two. (38) These peaceful, harmonious scenes, located in rural or garden settings, are characteristic of the Meidian and Eretrian workshops and were probably produced in contrast and reaction to the horrors of life in late fifth century Athens, which included not only the Peloponnesian War but also the plague of 429 BC.¹⁸⁷

A third hero who joins Eumolpos and Mousaios on a list of Eleusinian children depicted in late fifth and fourth century red-figure is Hippothoon. (65) This is also the same period in which the divine Eleusinian children Zagreus (28, 29), Iakchos (30) and Ploutos (28, 39-42) appear in red-figure, and together they reflect the growing importance of the Eleusinian cult.

On the other hand, the reason for the popularity of Heraklian children in red-figure of the first half of the fifth century is not clear. The young Herakles, Iphikles and Hyllos appear in total some nineteen times, with Herakles not surprisingly accounting for most of these representations. The Tyszkiewicz Painter in particular displays a fondness for Heraklian childhood myths. (72, 80, 81) Lichas and Philoktetes as the boy servants and disciples of Herakles constitute a late fifth century red-figure theme, appearing between about 430-390 in scenes of Herakles' sacrifice to Chryse on Lemnos. The inspiration for at least three of these scenes, (86-88) including the boy figures, is likely to have been a wall-painting, which perhaps decorated an Athenian Chryse sanctuary.

Unlike divine offspring, who are almost without exception depicted as children of the tenderest infant years, and usually as babes in arms, heroic Attic children, like their mortal counterparts, are represented in red-figure as babies, older children and adolescents. Erichthonios is usually an infant, and as such is the archetypal chthonic child presented to a waiting figure by a woman half-emerged from the earth. Kephalos and Eumolpos assume the type of the crawling baby, a type also employed in the second half of the fifth and fourth century for mortal children, both in vase-painting and sculpture. (see n 49 & n 83) Similarly, Mousaios as a schoolboy also finds parallels in red-figure scenes of everyday school-life, (see n 56) and Lichas and Philoktetes constitute the mythological equivalents of boy attendants in mortal scenes of sacrifice. (see n 158) For Hyllos, the vase-painters employ the common type of the babe in arms. Hippothoon suckled by an animal is, on the other hand, unique amongst red-figure children; and a cup of about 430 BC by the Kodros Painter (n 87) probably presents us with the rare type of a completely swaddled child, here Ajax, paralleled in vase-painting only by the swathed bundle offered to Kronos by Rhea. (34, 35) The infant Herakles is immediately identifiable as a wonder-child in his single-handed disposal of the snakes, and his appearance in the arms of the running Iris is an example of an iconographic type to which we shall have cause to return in a study of non-Attic heroic children. (see ch 4, p 328-9 & 335f)

As I have already noted in my conclusions to chapters one and two, divine children in red-figure are depicted essentially as miniature adults until the late fifth and fourth century, when they assume a more childlike appearance with chubbier limbs and more childlike attitudes. The same is true for heroic Attic children, although the development in draughtsmanship of greater naturalism is of course not so abrupt or artificial as such a chronological distinction implies. The earlier fifth century produced a number of vase-painters of fine artistic sensibilities who stand apart from the mass of their colleagues through their closer observation of nature: this, for example, is apparent in the childlike depiction of Erichthonios by a painter close to Hermonax and by the Kodros Painter on vases of about 460 and 440-30 BC respectively. (45, 46) And even earlier than this a hint of childlike realism has crept into the figures of Herakles and Iphikles produced about 475 by an artist near the Mykonos Painter. (67)

So much for the representation of heroic Attic babies and young children. The iconography of the adolescent figure, which we had an opportunity to examine in a study of the young Triptolemos, Herakles and Theseus, is a much more complicated issue. While Herakles the schoolboy commonly looks like a grown man, Theseus in the earliest stage of manhood may be depicted in the guise of a boy, and Triptolemos at his departure from Demeter and Persephone looks sometimes like a young man, sometimes a boy. In the case of the adolescent Herakles, we could turn to the

pictorial context, that is the schoolroom, for objective clarification of his life-stage. For Theseus, a study of the mythological traditions concerning his childhood and youth in the ancient literary sources led to a re-evaluation of subjective visual impressions: this re-evaluation was also helped by an examination of his attributes, namely his possession of the sword which, despite his boyish appearance, indicates that he has come of age and thus earned the right to take his place as a fighting man. When we turned to Triptolemos, however, our dilemma was not illuminated by the pictorial context, ancient literary sources or the hero's attributes, and he can therefore be classified only as an indeterminate adolescent figure.

Although in the case of Theseus and Triptolemos, the markedly youthful representation of our heroes may be deliberately effected by the vase-painters in order to imply a mother-son relationship with Amphitrite and Demeter respectively, it also seems likely that the ambiguity apparent in the representation of the adolescent youth, and the lack of an iconographic "type" or "types" for the adolescent male, is a reflection of the status of late adolescence in fifth century Athens as a liminal phase when the youth was considered to be neither boy nor man.

NOTES

1. The main early literary sources for the story of the birth and childhood of Erichthonios are Homer *Iliad* 2, 546-551: Danaïs (G Kinkel *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (1877), frag 2): Pindar (B Snell *Pindari Carmina* (1955), frag 253): Hellanikos of Lesbos (F Jacoby *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* IIB (1950) & IIB Suppl II (1954), 323a F27): Herodotus 8.55: Euripides *Ion* 21-24, 265-274. The fullest, though rather later, account is given by Apollodoros *Bibl* 3.14.6.

For a more complete list and discussion of the literary sources see LIMC IV, Erechtheus, pp 925-6: Apollodoros *Bibl* 2, trans Frazer (Loeb, 1921), p 90 n 1, p 91 n 2: Escher in *RE* VI, Erichthonios, 439-446: B Powell *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* 17 (1906), 1-86: Engelmann in *Roscher ML* I, Erichthonios 1303-8.

2. On the iconography of the birth and childhood of Erichthonios, see LIMC IV, Erechtheus: K Arafat *Classical Zeus* (1990), 51-58, 188: P Brulé *La Fille d'Athènes* (1987), Chapter 1: J Oakley *Antk* 30 (1987) [=Oakley 1], 123-30; *JHS* 102 (1982) [=Oakley 2], 220-2: E Simon in *Matronen und verwandte Göttheiten*, Bonn *Jbb Beih* 44 (1987), esp 163: E Brümmer *Jdi* 100 (1985), 19-20 & n 127: U Kron *Die Zehn Attischen Phylenheroen*, *AM Beiheft* 5 (1976): J Neils *Bull Cleveland Mus* 70 (1983), 274-289: N Loraux *Les Enfants d'Athènes* (1981), esp 275-7: K Schefold *Die Göttersage in der klassischen & hellenistischen Kunst* (1981), 48-57: EH Loeb *Die Geburt der Götter* (1979), 165-81, 334-344: F Brommer *Hephaistos* (1978) [=Brommer 1], 21-3, 45-6, 87-8, 116, 119, 208, 243, 247; *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage* (1973) [=Brommer 2], 262; *Charites: Festschrift E Langlotz* (1957) [=Brommer 3], 157-8, 160: T Hadzisteliou-Price *The Greek Kourotrophos* (1978), 59-60, 65: E Harrison *AJA* 81 (1977), 265-87: H Metzger in P Ducrey, ed *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (1976), 295-303: C Bérard *Anodoi* (1974), 27ff, esp 34-38: D Aebli *Klassischer Zeus* (1972), 134-40: Ch Kardara in *Charakterion Orlandos* II (1966), 22-4: S Karouzou *AM* 69-70 (1954-5), 67ff, 94: AB Cook *Zeus* III (1940), 181-8.

3. Attic black-figure lekythos, white-ground, Palermo, Mormino Collection 769, from Sicily - probably Selinus, Emporion Painter, ca 480. *LIMC* IV, Erechtheus 1 (with bibliography): Kron *op cit* n 2, 249, E1, pl 1 (with bibliography): *CVA* Palermo, Coll Mormino I, III, Y, pl 3, 4-6.

Attic black-figure loutrophoros fragment, Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Collection 1191, second half of the fifth century - perhaps around the middle. *LIMC* IV, Erechtheus 2a (with bibliography): Kron *op cit* n 2, 250, E8, pl 3, 4 (with bibliography).

Female figure half-emerged from the ground and facing to right, holds up a little figure, of whom only the feet and lower legs remain. Behind is a tree, probably Athena's sacred olive.

Attic black-figure loutrophoros fragment, Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Collection 1188, second half of the fifth century - perhaps towards the end. *LIMC* IV, Erechtheus 2b (with bibliography): Kron *op cit* n 2, 250, E9, pl 3.1 (with bibliography).

Chubby little boy (head, shoulders, arms and right foot missing) is held up by a female hand (white-painted) and faces to right. In front of him are preserved part of a staff/spear shaft and the robe of a third figure, most probably Athena.

It has been suggested that three other Attic black-figure

loutrophoros fragments from the Athenian Akropolis also belonged to scenes of the birth of Erichthonios. Although this may have been the case, I feel the evidence is too inconclusive to provide a secure identification of subject matter:-

- Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Coll 1189. LIMC IV, Erechtheus 2c (with bibliography): Kron op cit n 2, 250, E9, pl 3,2 (with bibliography). Armed Athena - helmet, spear, aegis - moves towards left.

- Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Coll 1195. LIMC IV, Erechtheus 2d (with bibliography): Kron op cit n 2, 250, E10, pl 3,5 (with bibliography). White-painted lower body of small figure facing to right, behind are indistinct traces of drapery.

- Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Coll 1192. LIMC IV, Erechtheus 2e (with bibliography): Kron op cit n 2, 260, K8, pl 3,3 (with bibliography). Upper torso of male figure with staff/sceptre facing to left, behind a snake tail - probably Kekrops.

The black-figure loutrophoros fragment, Athens National Museum, Akropolis 1193, almost certainly also shows Erichthonios in the care of Athena - see p 144-5 and n 26.

4. Amongst others H Metzger Les Représentations (1951) 105: HB Walters CVA British Museum 6, III I c, 3: C Robert Arch Märchen (1886) 191.

5. Cook op cit n 2, 183-4. Arafat op cit n 2, 54.

6. Oakley 1, loc cit n 2, 124 n 15.

7. Oakley 1, loc cit n 2, 126 n 25.

8. Oakley 1, loc cit n 2, 127-30.

9. Neils loc cit n 2, 277 n 15. See also LIMC III, Attike 5.

10. See G Berger-Doer LIMC III, Attike: HA Shapiro in Πράκτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλ. Αρχαιολογίας, Αθήνα 1983, B (Athens 1988), 205-8, esp 207.

11. L Burn The Meidias Painter (1987), 21 n 19 identifies the "figure seated by Athena" as Aphrodite, but Neils loc cit n 2, 283 sees Aphrodite in the standing figure behind Athena. Neils also attempts to identify each remaining figure in the scene with a particular abstract personification; this is, of course, speculative.

12. The pyxis is to be published by Mrs Zapheiroupolou of the Greek Ministry of Culture, whom I should like to thank for showing me her photographs of the vase.

13. On Basile see LIMC III, Echelos: E Kearns The Heroes of Attica, BICS Suppl 57 (1989), 151: HA Shapiro ZPE 63 (1986), 135: RE Wycherley BSA 55 (1960), 60ff.

14. On Soteria see R Parker in J Bremmer, ed Interpretations of Greek Mythology (1987), 196.

For personifications, see HA Shapiro loc cit n 10, 207-8; Personification of Abstract Concepts in Greek Art & Literature to the End of the Fifth Century BC (PhD, Princeton 1977). Also Burn op cit n 11, 32-40.

15. G Kokkorou-Alevra Πράκτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου, op cit n 10, 103-114, fig 1, pl 22-23.

16.Red-figure fragment, perhaps of a hydria, once Venice, Badoaro Collection, Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris, last quarter of the fifth century. ARV 1316: LIMC I, Aglauros 3; IV, Erechtheus 16.

17.Burn op cit n 11, 21-22.

18.Compare, for example, the tree beside Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides on the British Museum kalpis E224 by the Meidias Painter, ca 410, ARV 1313.5, 1690: Para 477: Add 361. See also the leafy staff held by Apollo, which presumably is bay laurel, on a squat lekythos by the Meidias Painter in Ruvo, Jatta 1538, ARV 1314.16: Para 477: Add 362.

19.See O Alexandri Αρχαίολογία 31 (1976), part B'1, pl 35.

20.Chryseis and Phylonoe appear elsewhere in the Meidias Painter's work. Chryseis appears in the scene of the rape of the Leukippids on a kalpis in the British Museum, E224. See n 18.

Phylonoe appears on a kalpis in Athens, Kerameikos Museum 2712, depicting the infant Orestes. See catalogue no 176, and p 356-9.

21.The seven vases are:-

- Cup, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Inv STV7, from Vulci, close to the Brygos and Castelgiorgio Painters, ca 480. ARV 386, 1649: Add 229.
- Pelike fr, Leipzig University T654 - see catalogue no 52.
- Skyphos frr, Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Coll 508 & 509, Lewis Painter, ca 470-60. ARV 973.7 & .8: Add 309.
- Column-krater, San Antonio - Denman Collection, Orchard Painter, ca 470-60. H Shapiro Art, Myth and Culture: Greek Vases from Southern Collections (1981), 20-3.
- Cup frr, Louvre 980.020 - see catalogue no 53.
- Lekythos, Basle, Antikenmus BS404, Phiale Painter, ca 435-30. LIMC I Aglauros 19 pl 212: CVA Basle 3, 54 fig 21 & pls 29.7-8, 32.2-3 & 34.4.
- Type C pyxis with lid, Athens Third Ephoreia A8922-see cat no 50.

For the study of the iconography of these scenes of the discovery of Erichthonios and the punishment of the Kekropids by Athena, see Oakley 1, loc cit n 2, 221-2; The Phiale Painter (1990) [=Oakley 3], 35; Kron op cit n 2, 67-72, 252-3; LIMC I, Aglauros 288-9, 294ff; M Schmidt AM 83 (1968), 200-12.

22.See, for example, the weapon he uses against the Lernaean hydra on the Villa Giulia cup 50388, ARV 65.114: Add 166. Also on a cup in Athens, Nat Mus, Akropolis Coll 325, ARV 460.20: Para 377: Add 244. Pottier suggests a confusion of different myths on the Louvre kalpis (55) in CVA Louvre 9 pl 52,4.6, 53,2.

23.Schmidt loc cit n 21, 206-12. Also W Ferguson Hesperia 7 (1938) 1-74

24.Kron op cit n 2, 254-5, ?E39.

25.Kron op cit n 2, 73 and n 325. Red-figure (white-ground) pyxis, New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.36, Penthesilea Painter, ca 465-60. ARV 890.173: Para 428: Add 302.

26.E Simon Opfernde Götter (1953), 92. Attic black-figure loutrophoros fragment, Athens, National Museum, Akropolis Coll 1193, towards the end of the fifth century. LIMC IV, Erechtheus 32, pl 634.

27.Kron op cit n 2, 73.

28. See, for example, the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo 123-129, where Themis gives nectar and ambrosia to the little Apollo.

29. Kardara loc cit n 2, 22-24, pls 1-3.

30. For the interpretation of the sex of the child holding the peplos in the east frieze of the Parthenon as female, see J Boardman Oxford Journal of Archaeology 10 (1991), 119-21 & in Kanon: Festschrift Ernst Berger, AntK Beiheft 15 (1988) 9-10, pls 4-5; CM Robertson A History of Greek Art I (1975) 308; The Parthenon Frieze (1975) text to East V 31-5. Amongst those who identify the child as male, see C Clairmont AA 1989, 495-6; E Simon Festivals of Attica (1983), 66-7; F Brommer Der Parthenonfries (1977), 115, 269; Kardara loc cit n 29.

Also compare the boy figure in the cup tondo of (57) and the controversial child figure in the east frieze of the Parthenon (East 35), with the similarly modelled and semi-naked boy figure who ties his master's belt in the north frieze of the Parthenon (North 134). Also comparable, though his posture is somewhat different and his nakedness almost complete, is the figure of the boy Triptolemos in the great relief from Eleusis (Athens, National Museum 126-see n 72). Although the same pert bottom is just visible in the figure of the little girl on the marble grave relief from Paros (New York, Metropolitan Museum 27.45) this, in contrast to the other figures here examined, is the only part of her anatomy (except head, arms and feet) that her open-sided peplos leaves naked. For illustrations of all these sculpted figures see Robertson History II, pl 104.

31. I Scheibler JdI 102 (1987), 115-6.

32. See Simon op cit n 30, 89-92, 107; H W Parke Festivals of the Athenians (1977), 77-81; Ferguson op cit n 23; L Deubner Attische Feste (1932), 142-7; Jacoby op cit n 1, 300-305.

33. See Deubner op cit n 32, 142 n 10. On the use of the phiale as a drinking vessel see B Freyer-Schauenburg in E Böhr & W Martini, eds Festschrift für Konrad Schauenburg (1986), 116 & 119 n 6; J Boardman in Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Amsterdam Symposium 1984, 245.

34. See Jacoby op cit n 32. Also I Rutherford & J Irvine ZPE 72 (1988), 43-51; E Kadletz Greek, Roman & Byzantine Studies 21 (1980), 363-71.

35. The tree on the Akropolis cup (58) is, however, rather puzzling. If it is indeed Athena's olive tree, it is a very unusual one, with its huge fruits in relief clay. It calls to mind rather the apple tree of the Hesperides and finds its closest parallels with the tree painted on an Attic black-figure vase of ca 520-10 in Boulogne, Mus Beaux-Arts 421 (LIMC V, Herakles 2700 pl 103). (On the Hesperides see further I McPhee in LIMC V, Hesperides.) The major objection to the interpretation of the Akropolis cup tondo as Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides, however, is that all our extant assured Attic vase-paintings of this scene show Herakles as an adult male, and never as a boy.

36. Kalyx-krater, Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie, Hesse 77, allegedly from Sicily, Kekrops Painter, ca 410-400. ARV 1346.1: Para 482: Add 368; LIMC I, Aglauros 8, pl 211; III, Attike 6, pl 15; IV, Erechtheus 10, pl 632; Hephaistos 220, pl 403.

37. For Attike see cat no 49 and p 133, n 10.

38. Kron op cit n 2, 62-3.

39. Arafat op cit n 2, 51-2; Harrison loc cit n 2; Karouzou loc cit n 2.

40. Neo-Attic reliefs in the Louvre and Vatican. See Harrison loc cit n 2, 265 fig 1, 266 fig 3.

41. See, for example, Athena as kourotrophos on a chous in the Louvre, L63, of ca 430 BC by the Trophy Painter. (ARV 858.8; Add 298; LIMC IV, Erechtheus 41.) There Athena stands before an infant who is perched on a column. There has been much debate regarding the interpretation of this scene (see LIMC for references), with some scholars suggesting that we have here another representation of Erichthonios. This seems to me unlikely, however, since the white-painted child atop the column is more probably a statue. The dedicatory inscription on the steps supporting the column ___ΙΣΙΑΣ [Α]ΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ, would seem to confirm this hypothesis.

42. Kephalos pursued by Eos usually appears in the guise of a young huntsman carrying spears: some eighty such assured and probable red-figure representations of Kephalos survive, and in four of these pictures his name is inscribed. (see ch 4, n 106) There also survives a series of ten red-figure vases which depict a youth carried off by a generally winged, running or flying female: on two of these vases the youth is inscribed Kephalos. (ch 4, n 107) For a further discussion of these scenes and their apparent confusion with the iconography in use for Eos and Tithonos, see ch 4, p 335f.

43. There is some disagreement here: most scholars accept ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ, but A Lezzi-Hafter Der Eretria-Maler (1988), 233 & n 371 points out that H Bloesch read ΚΕΦΙΜΟΣ, D v Bothmer ΚΕΦΙΛΜΟΣ or ΚΕΦΙΜΟΣ and HRW Smith ΚΕΦΗΜΟΣ.

44. A Lezzi-Hafter op cit n 44, 233, 344 cat 240 provides the alternative possible reading of this inscription as ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ.

45. Herse is suggested by HRW Smith and U Kron, LIMC I, Aglauros 36. I Jucker Festschrift Bloesch, AK Beiheft 9 (1973), 67.

46. Aphrodite is suggested by Jucker loc cit n 45, 68; Shapiro op cit n 14, 227-8; Neils loc cit n 2, 288 n 25; Schefold op cit n 2, 317.

47. The Boston squat lekythos 95.50 (62) is unpublished and I have only a partial photograph of the vase (PL 40b): I cannot therefore be certain of the whole composition.

48. Burn op cit n 11, 26.

49. Grave stele of Mnesagora and Nikochares, Athens National Museum 3845, last quarter of the fifth century. CW Clairmont Gravestone and Epigram (1970) 89-91, pl 11.22.

White-ground lekythos, Athens National Museum 1947, Painter of Munich 2335, third quarter of the fifth century. ARV 1168.133; Add 338.

50. See LIMC IV, Eumolpos p 56 for the ancient literary sources for Eumolpos.

51. On the iconography of Eumolpos see L Weidauer in LIMC IV, Eumolpos (with additional bibliography for the subject).

52. G Richter AJA 43 (1939), 1-5.

53. See notes 50 and 52. See also H Diels Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 5th ed (1934), 20ff.

54. For Euripides' Erechtheus see A Nauck Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, suppl B Snell (1964), 464ff.

55. See O Höfer in Roscher ML, Musaios 3235-3237.

56. For a famous red-figure example of an everyday school scene with a standing boy reciting a text to a seated man who holds a scroll see Douris' cup in Berlin, Staatl Mus F2285, ca 485. ARV 431.48, 1653: Para 374: Add 237. On this cup see AD Booth in Echos du Monde Classique 29 (1985), 274-80.

For further similar red-figure genre scenes see, for example -

-cup, Washington 136373, Akestorides Painter, ca 460. ARV 781.4: Add 288.

-cup, Berlin, Staatl Mus F2549, ca 450. FAG Beck Album of Greek Education (1975), pl 15.79.

-lekythos, Neuchatel, Seyrig, Cartellino Painter, ca 470. Beck pl 14.77
See also F Winter Bonner Jahrbücher 123 (1916), 275-85.

57. J Beazley AJA 52 (1948), 340. Servius on Aen 6, 667.

58. Χίρωνος ὑποθήκαι or The Precepts of Chiron - A Rzach Hesiodi Carmina (1902), fr 170-73.

Pausanias 9.31.5: Scholiast on Pindar Pythian VI.22.

See also J Schwartz Pseudo-Hesiodica (1960), 228-44: A & M Croiset Histoire de la littérature grecque 4 (1928), 530 ff.

See also ch 4, p 285.

59. Attic red-figure kyathos, Berlin 2322, Onesimos, ca 490. ARV 329.134, 1645: Add 217.

For this and other inscribed rolls on vases, see Beazley op cit n 57, 336-40, pls 34-8. See also HR Immerwahr in C Henderson, ed Classical, Mediaeval & Renaissance Studies in Honor of BL Ullman (1964), 1, 17-48; AntK 16 (1973), 143-7.

60. Υποθήκαι τῷ εὐμόλῳ - Suidas sv Μουσαῖος.

61. Only nine vases with Mousaios, in addition to the Eretria Painter's cup (64), are to be found in ARV, Para and Add. All of these date to the second half of the fifth century, except for a hydria of the early classical period by the Villa Giulia Painter:-

i. Hydria, Villa Giulia, Villa Giulia Painter. ARV 623.70bis, 1662: Para 398.

ii. Volute-krater, Ferrara T6CVP, (?)Polygnotos. ARV 1033, 1679: Para 442: Add 318.

iii. Neck-amphora, London E271, Peleus Painter. ARV 1039.13: Para 443: Add 319.

iv. Kalyx-krater, Bologna 292, Hephaistos Painter. ARV 1116.35: Add

331.

v.Cup, Ferrara T293A VP, Calliope Painter. ARV 1259.2.

vi.Cup, London, Victoria & Albert Museum 666.1864, Calliope Painter. ARV 1259.4: Add 355.

vii.Cup, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 73, Group of Cambridge 73. ARV 1287.1: Add 358.

viii.Pelike, New York, Metropolitan Museum 37.11.23, Meidias Painter. See catalogue no 63.

ix.Pyxis fr, Athens, Manner of the Meidias Painter. Para 479.91bis.

62.He does appear on the Hephaistos Painter's kalyx-krater (see n 61. iv) as a figure slightly smaller in stature than his companions, but it is difficult to tell whether he is meant to be a boy or a young man.

63.Burn op cit n 11, 123 comments that "most gods and heroes become younger as the fifth century grew older, and an interest in their birth and early childhood was perhaps a logical outcome of this retrogressive sort of development".

64.For a catalogue of Attic black- and red-figure vases depicting Triptolemos, and a discussion of the iconography see Oakley 3, op cit n 21, 30: G Schwarz Triptolemos, Grazer Beiträge Suppl 2 (1987): IK & AE Raubitschek Hesperia Suppl 20 (1982), 109-117: Schefold op cit n 2, 58-64: JW Day The Glory of Athens (1980), 15-38: A Peschlow-Bindokat Jdl 87 (1972), 78-92, 146-7: C Dugas Recueil Ch Dugas (1960), 123-9 [= Mélanges 62 (1950), 7-31]: B Grossman The Eleusinian Gods & Heroes in Greek Art (PhD, Washington 1959): Simon op cit n 26, 67-70: E Buschor in FR III, 259-63: Cook Zeus I (1914), 211-37: J Overbeck Atlas der griechische Kunstmythologie II (1871), 530-89: Stephani Compte-rendu, St Petersburg 1859, 82ff; 1862, 32, 5; 1873, 115 n 1: C Lenormant & J de Witte Elite des Monuments Céramographiques (1844-61) III, 161ff.

65.Kalpis, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 580, weak imitation of the Villa Giulia Painter, mid-fifth century. CVA Vienna Kunsthist Mus 3, 40 (with bibliography), pl 144.

66.Bell-krater, Paris, Cab Méd 424, Hektor Painter, ca 450. ARV 1036.12.

67.Neck-amphora (Nolan), Naples, Mus Naz 3093, Achilles Painter. ARV 988.17: Peschlow-Bindokat loc cit n 64, figs 20-21: Dugas loc cit n 64, no 62: Buschor loc cit n 64, 37.

68.For the ancient literary sources for Triptolemos see Schwarz op cit n 64, 7-27.

69.Marmor Parium ep 12: Apollodoros Bibl 1.5.1: Pausanias 1.14.2: Schol Aristides III.53.

70.On the propaganda role of the Mission of Triptolemos see Raubitschek loc cit n 64: Day op cit n 64.

Attic red-figure representations of Triptolemos, in his rejuvenated guise, are most popular in the second quarter of the fifth century, and occur frequently until the last quarter of the century. After this he is depicted much less frequently, and when he does appear it is not at the outset of his Mission in the presence of Demeter and Persephone, but rather as one amongst several Eleusinian nobles. It is interesting that this change in iconography coincides with the fall

of the Athenian Empire.

71. See Day op cit n 64, 20; NJ Richardson The Homeric Hymn to Demeter (1974), 195-6; Dugas loc cit n 64, 125.

72. Athens, National Museum no 126. R Lullies Greek Sculpture (1960), 80, figs 172-3.

73. Roman marble copy of the Eleusis relief - New York, Metropolitan Museum 14.130.9. Richter MMA Catalogue of Greek Sculptures (1954), no 34, pl 32a.

74. H Metzger RA 1968, 113-18, with bibliography for other interpretations of the relief.

75. Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 473-9.

76. Neck-amphora (Nolan), Cambridge (Mass) - Fogg Art Museum 1959.187, Group of Polygnotos. ARV 1059.126: Add 323.

77. It is also interesting to speculate how Triptolemos may have been portrayed in Sophokles' lost play of the same name, produced in 468. Raubitschek loc cit n 64, 112 notes that "the play must have dealt with the Mission of Triptolemos" since some surviving fragments [see AC Pearson Fragments of Sophocles II (1917), 239-42] contain references to the dragons which pull his chariot and to Demeter's orders to the hero. However, it is very unlikely that he would have appeared as a boy in the play since, as G Sifakis has pointed out [BICS 26 (1979), 67-80], children play only very minor parts in Sophokles' extant dramas.

78. Choirilos-Nauck op cit n 54, 719. Pherekydes-Jacoby op cit n 1, F147 Aischylos Kerkyon-Nauck op cit n 54, 35-6; J Matte Der verlorene Aischylos (1963), 41f. Euripides Alope-Nauck op cit n 54, 389-2; see Kron op cit n 2, 178 n 859 for further bibliography. Karkinos Alope-Nauck op cit n 54, 797; Diehl RE X, 1953, Karkinos. Hyginus fab 187. On Hippothoon generally see U Kron in LIMC V, Hippothoon (p 469 gives additional bibliography for the subject); op cit n 2, 177-87, 276-8; K Schefold Die Urkönige (1988), 285-6; W Kroll RE VIII 2 (1913) 1924, Hippothoon; JE Harrison & M de G Verrall Mythology & Monuments of Ancient Athens (1890), CVI-CX.

79. C Watzinger Griechische Vasen in Tübingen (1924), 56 no 180, pl 39.

80. Skyphos, London, British Museum E140, from Capua, Makron, ca 480. ARV 459.3, 481, 1654: Para 377: Add 243: LIMC III, Eleusis 1, pl 549.

81. Five Attic lead symbola in Athens, three in the National Museum and two in the Agora Museum, fourth to second centuries. For references see LIMC V, Hippothoon 2, & pl 329.

The infant Hippothoon is also seen suckling from the mare on three Etruscan gold bullae, one in the Louvre and two in the Vatican, of similar date. For references see LIMC V, Hippothoon 3 & 4, & pl 329.

82. See CJ Kraemer The Classical Weekly 21 (1928), 189-90; ES McCartney - Greek and Roman Lore of Animal-Nursed Infants. Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts & Letters 4 (1924), 15ff. On Telephos suckled by the deer see Ch Bauchhenss-Thürleidl Der Mythos der Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst (1971), 38-40, 78-86.

Zeus suckled by a goat - Kallimachos Hymn to Zeus 49; Aratus Phaen 163-4; Diodorus 5.70.3; Ovid Fast 3.431-2; 5.120-1; Second Vatican Mythographer 16; Eustathius on Iliad 9.535.

83. White-ground lekythos, Munich, Mus. antiker Kleinkunst 7619, Bird Painter, ca 430-20. ARV 1233.18: Add 352.

For similar crawling children on choes see G van Hoorn Choes & Anthesteria (1951), 100 no 290 fig 485, 119 no 432 fig 275, 172 no 844 fig 249 & no 849 fig 4.

84. For scenes with the adult bearded Hippothoon at the departure of Triptolemos see U Kron in LIMC V, Hippothoon 9-17, commentary on pp 472-3, and bibliography for the subject on p 469; op cit n 2, 185-6, 277-8, H7-15; H Metzger Recherches (1965) 16-17; Dugas loc cit n 64.

85. See LIMC V, Hippothoon for a list of representations.

86. For the ancient literary sources see LIMC I p 316, Ajax B1; E Berger AntK 11 (1968), 126 n 4.

87. Cup, Basle, Antikenmuseum BS 432, Kodros Painter, ca 430. Para 472; Add 177; LIMC I, Aias I.1, pl 232; III, Eriboia 2, pl 593.

88. Berger loc cit n 86, 125-136, pl 19, 37.

89. I refer here only to partially wrapped or swaddled children, and not to clothed or partially clothed infants who appear very frequently (for example, Dionysos in little chiton and himation on 7 & 16, in himation on 20 or draped only from the waist downwards on 8; Apollo and Artemis draped from the waist down on 37; Erichthonios in himation on 54).

90. Berger loc cit n 86, 127.

91. See Kearns op cit n 13, 80-82.

92. Homer Iliad 19.97-119; Hesiod Shield of Herakles 27-56, and see R Merkelbach-ML West Fragmenta Hesiodica (1967) frg 248; Pindar Nemean 10, 15-17.

Euripides also mentions Herakles' parentage in Herakles 1-4, 798-807, 1258-65.

For later additional literary sources see LIMC IV, Herakles, pp 728-31.

93. Generally on the mythology and iconography of the birth and early life of Herakles, see LIMC IV, Herakles p 728-9, 827-32; Schefold op cit n 78, 129-135; F Brommer Herakles II (1984), 1-7; P Flacelière, P Devambez Héraklès: Images et Récits (1966), 17-27, 72-78; C Robert Die griechische Heldensage (1920), 422-675. These give additional bibliography.

94. Pindar Nemean I, 33-72, for Chromius of Aetna, winner in the chariot race, 476(?) BC.

95. Euripides Herakles, 1266-8. On Sophokles' Herakliskos see Pearson op cit n 77, I, 169-71.

96. Pherekydes - Jacoby op cit n 1, F69.

97. On the iconography of the infant Herakles strangling snakes see LIMC I, Alkmene; IV, Herakles p 827-32; Brommer op cit n 93, 1-4; S Woodford in F Lissarague-F Thélamon, eds Image et Céramique Grecque (Rouen, 1983), 121-9; G Lippold RM 51 (1936), 96-103; O Brendel JdI 47 (1932), 191-238; C Watzinger ÖJh 16 (1913) 166-71.

See LIMC IV, Herakles IIIA, p 828 for additional bibliography.

98. With regard to the confusion as to the position the preserved fragments would have taken on this cup: there are only two published photographs of the fragments - H Philippart Les Coupes Attiques a Fond Blanc (1936) pl 7 & pp 19-21, and LIMC V, Iphikles 5, pl 482. Philippart illustrates all the preserved fragments, but LIMC only the fragment with the snakes and the torsos of Herakles and Iphikles.

The descriptions of the fragments differ from publication to publication: Philippart, like Beazley ARV 559.151, describes both sides of the exterior of the cup as depicting the infant Herakles and the snakes. Of side B, Beazley Pan Painter (1974), 15 no 87 says, "All that is preserved of B is the middle of a male figure with a stick, on the left of the picture." Philippart agrees that this fragment belongs to side B, but adds that another fragment with a woman's head and her left hand lifting up a piece of drapery (his fragment d) also belongs to side B.

According to Philippart, side A preserves:-

- the left foot and chiton hem of a woman running to left on the extreme right of the picture by the handle palmettes. Also the tail of a snake.

- the left hand of a figure (Amphitryon?) making a gesture of surprise, like the woman in front who faces right and raises both her hands. In front of her, we can just see Athena's shoulder, the back of her neck, and a serpent on her aegis.

- the fragment with the serpents and torsos of Herakles and Iphikles, the lance of Athena and another serpent on her aegis.

On the other hand, Woodford loc cit n 97, 123 n 16 and LIMC IV, Herakles 1652, describes Herakles and Iphikles, probably on a kline with Herakles to left. Woman fleeing to right (Alkmene?): another woman to left, standing facing right. Far left, a man holding a spear facing right (Amphitryon). Athena's presence to left of the babies is suggested by a spear which crosses in front of Herakles' body.

99. See, for example, the fleeing Oreithyia and her companion on an oinochoe by the Pan Painter: London, British Museum E512, ARV 557.125.

100. See LIMC IV, Herakles 1619-21, 1630-33 for Greek coins of the second half of the fifth and fourth century showing the infant Herakles strangling snakes: also 1598 for a Campanian red-figure cup with the subject. Note especially for Herakles' recurring kneeling pose and its general similarities to his attitude on the Attic red-figure vases 66-69: LIMC IV, Herakles 1619-20, pl 553 (AR staters, Thebes, ca 440); 1621, pl 553 (SYN staters - Byzantion, Kyzikos, Ephesos, Samos, Knidos, Iasos, Rhodos - ca 405-400) - compare particularly to Herakles on 66 and 68.

101. EL stater, Kyzikos, ca 450-400. See LIMC IV, Herakles 1663, pl 556. On the date see also S Karwiese NC 140 (1980), 1-26.

102. Pliny NH 35.63. For the date of Zeuxis, see Brendel op cit n 97, 198 and E Pfuhl Malerei & Zeichnung II (1923), 689.

103. See LIMC I, Alkmene 14, 15, 16 & pl 415. See also Watzinger, Brendel and Lippold op cit n 97.

104. See LIMC I, Alkmene 12 for the Etruscan vases. Also Woodford op cit n 97, 124 n 27: JD Beazley Etruscan Vase Painting (1947), 21 no 1, 92ff: Brendel op cit n 97, 201.

105. For the coins see LIMC IV, Herakles 1630-32. Woodford op cit n 97, 124-5. See also GL Cawkwell NC 16 (1956), 69.

106. Lucian Zeuxis or Antiochus 3-4, gives an account of Zeuxis' picture of a centaur family.

107. For these skin hats see the fishermen on catalogue nos 94, 95, 96, & 97. See also J Oakley AJA 86 (1982) 114, n 15 (with further bibliography) & n 16.

108. Cup, London, British Museum E66, Clinic Painter, ca 460. ARV 808.2: Add 291: LIMC IV, Herakles 1506, pl 545.

109. Herakles suckled by Hera - Lykophron 1327-8; Schol 39.1327.1328: Eratosthenes Kat 44: Diodorus 4.9.6. Herakles educated by Chiron - Schol Theokritos 13.7-9. For additional later sources see Brommer op cit n 93, 5, n 29.

110. Attic black-figure neck-amphora (small), Munich, Mus antiker Klein-kunst 1615A, from Vulci, Dot Band Class, ca 510-500. ABV 484.6: Para 221: Add 122: LIMC III, Cheiron 100, pl 196; IV, Herakles 1665, fig p 832.

111. For the infant Achilles brought by Peleus to Chiron in the company of Hermes see catalogue no 109. See also p 272-3, v, vii, x, xvii.

112. Iris with the infant Hermes - Watzinger op cit n 79, 48 no 106: JD Beazley in ARV 189.76; The Kleophrades Painter (1974), 19 nr 68: P Zanker Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der Attischen Vasenmalerei (1965), 62-3.

Iris with the infant Herakles - J Hoppin Handbook 2 (1919), 145 nr 28: Weikert in RE IX, 2 (1916), 2040: JD Beazley JHS 30 (1910) 56 nr 19a: O Jahn Archaeologische Beiträge (1853) 111, n 62: F G Welcker Alte Denkmäler (1849-64) 3, 247.

113. Hydria, Rome, Villa Giulia 50398, Kleophrades Painter, ca 500. ARV 188.69: LIMC V, Herakles 1870, pl 45.

114. See, for example, the youths on the Kleophrades Painter's kalyx-krater Tarquinia RC 4196. ARV 185.35, 1632: Para 340: Add 187.

115. Euripides refers to Herakles' glaring eyes (Herakles 131-2), and eyes full of fire (Syleus - Nauck op cit n 54, frg 689), and Pindar says they flashed fire even when he was a baby (pae 20.13 - B Snell & H Maehler Pindar Carmina cum Fragmentis (1975)).

Other examples in Attic red-figure vase-painting of Herakles depicted with wild eye and/or curly hair are to be found on catalogue nos 55, 67(hair), 71, 72(hair), 76, 79(eye), 82(hair).

116. For the modern bibliography on Herakles suckled by Hera, see LIMC V, Herakles IX.L.1.

117. Apulian red-figure squat lekythos, London British Museum F107, from Anzi-Basilicata, Suckling Painter, ca 360. LIMC IV, Hera 301; V, Herakles 3344, pl 152; V, Iris I, 152.

118. See Brommer 2, op cit n 2, 69; Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage I (1971), 55.

119. Achaïos, Linos – Nauck op cit n 54, 752, F26.

120. Alexis Linos – JM Edmonds The Fragments of Attic Comedy II (1959), 437–9, F135–6.

121. Apollodoros Bibl 2.4.9; Diodorus 3.67.2.

For additional ancient sources see LIMC IV, Herakles IIIC, p 833 and Brommer op cit n 93, 5.

122. The eighth vase, a cup in New York, Metropolitan Museum 06.1021.165, is unpublished: ARV 1651. See catalogue entry 78.

123. On the iconography of Herakles and Linos see AJNW Prag The Oresteia (1985), 26, 34, 93, 95–6; Brommer op cit n 93, 5–7; JJ Maffre RA 1982, 208–12; R Engelmann RA 9 (1907), 84–93.

124. An inscription in front of the column and above Herakles' left arm preserves ΑΚΕΨ. On this (?) mis-spelling of Ἡρακλῆς, and for other similar examples, see Maffre loc cit n 123, 211–2 n 78–9.

125. Prag op cit n 123, 93. See also ch 4, p 297–8.

126. Narthex, the teacher's stick, identified as such by J Beazley in AJA 37 (1933), 403. See also ch 4, p 279.

127. J Boardman LIMC IV, Herakles p 834.

128. Prag op cit n 123, 34 has conclusively argued that this must be a death of Linos scene, and not the death of Aigisthos as is sometimes suggested – S Aurigemma Scavi di Spina I.2 (1965), 108, pls 136a, 139b

129. Other cup fragments by Douris which may perhaps show the same scene are Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1929.166, ARV 439.144 and Heidelberg 79, ARV 439.145.

130. Prag op cit n 123. M Schmidt in Zur griechische Kunst, Festschrift H Bloesch, AntK Beiheft 9 (1973), 97–8.

Compare also the death of Priam iconography: see ch 4, p 297.

131. Compare, for example, the Tyszkiewicz Painter's death of Aigisthos scenes on:

Stamnos frr, Zurich University Arch Institut 3451, ca 480–75. ARV 291.19: Para 356: Add 210: Prag op cit n 123 – 93, 96, C13, pl 10 b & c.

Stamnos frr, Vatican Astarita 530, ca 480–75. ARV 291.20: Add 210: Prag op cit n 123 – 93, 96, C14, pl 10 d.

132. Aelian var 3.32 – with a plektron: Suda sv ἐμβαλόντα – with a stone.

133. Maffre loc cit n 123, 211.

134. For the adult Herakles shown with pubic hair see, for example -
 - neck-amphora, Louvre G107, Manner of Euphronios, ca 520-10, ARV 18.1, 1619: LIMC IV, Herakles 16, pl 446.
 - amphora, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.1515, recalls Euthymides, ca 510, ARV 1705: LIMC V, Herakles 2963, pl 126.
 - kalyx-krater, British Museum E458, Myson, ca 490, ARV 239.16: Para 349: Add 201: LIMC V, Herakles 2965, pl 126.

For the adult Herakles shown without pubic hair see, for example -
 - amphora, Basle, Antikenmus BS 491, Andokides Painter, ARV 3.4: Add 149: LIMC V, Herakles 1851, pl 42.
 - neck-amphora, Rome, Romagnoli, Berlin Painter, ca 480, ARV 202.86: LIMC V, Herakles 2966, pl 127.
 - neck-amphora, British Museum E318, Alkimachos Painter, ca 470, ARV 530.20: LIMC V, Herakles 2967, pl 127.

135. Hesiod Ehoiai frg 25. 17-19 Merkelbach-West op cit n 92.

For additional ancient sources for Hyllos and for discussions of his iconography see M Schmidt LIMC V, Hyllos I (with additional bibliog): Brommer op cit n 93, 133-4: H Geisau KlPauly II (1967), 1266-7 Hyllos: J D Beazley Apollo (Salerno) 1 (1961), 21-6: P Weizsäcker ML I 2 (1886-90) 2798-2799 Hyllos 2.

136. Black-figure neck-amphora, Naples, Mus Naz H3359, Diosphos Painter, ca 500. LIMC IV, Herakles 1674, pl 558.

137. For the wives and children of Herakles see Brommer op cit n 93, 117-40.

138. As Brommer points out op cit n 93, 133, Hyllos must have been the eldest son since in Euripides' Herakleidae he leads the army against Eurystheus while the other sons are still children. For the ancient literary sources for Hyllos leading the Herakleidae against Eurystheus see M Schmidt LIMC V, Hyllos 1, pp 579-81.

139. Beazley interpreted the scenes with Hyllos and Deianeira as Herakles returning home: loc cit n 135.

140. Stamnos, Warsaw, Nat Mus 142465, Phiale Painter. ARV 1019.82: Para 441: Add 315.

141. White-ground lekythos, London, British Museum 1905.7-10.10, Bosanquet Painter, third quarter of the fifth century. ARV 1227.10: Add 350.

142. For the few other preserved appearances of Hyllos in the art of the Classical world see M Schmidt LIMC V, Hyllos I.

Hyllos played a major role in Sophokles' Trachiniai, and is mentioned several times in Euripides' Herakleidae, though he never actually makes an appearance.

143. See M Schmidt LIMC IV, Herakleidae & in HA Cahn et al, eds Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold, Ant K 4 Beiheft (1967), 174-85, pl 59.

144. Lost paintings by Apollodoros - schol. Aristoph Plut 385 (J Overbeck Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste (1868), 1642), and possibly also Pamphilos, (Overbeck 1752).

The Herakleidae as suppliants of the Athenians are seen on a Lukanian

red-figure pelike, Policoro Museo Nazionale della Siritide 35302, Policoro Group, ca 400; AD Trendall The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania & Sicily (1967) 55, no 283 pl 25.5; LIMC I, Alkmene 20; IV, Herakleidae 2, pl 442.

They also occur on a Lukanian red-figure column-krater, Berlin 1969.6, Policoro Group, end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century; Trendall LCS Suppl 2 (1973), 158; LIMC I, Alkmene 21, pl 416; IV, Herakleidae 3.

145. On the subject see LIMC III, Chryse I: H Fröning Dithyrambos & Vasenmalerei (1971) 53-66; E Hooker JHS 70 (1950), 35-41.

146. Schol Sophokles Philoktetes 194: Philostratos im. Imagines 17.2 (ed Teubner).

147. On the depiction of the ox-tail in sacrifice scenes see MH Jameson in M Cropp et al, eds Greek Tragedy & its Legacy, 59-65 - see n 6 for further bibliography for the subject.

148. See Fröning op cit n 145, 54 & n 305.

149. Iolaos' extremely youthful appearance here (85) is unusual in Attic vase-painting. Although in black-figure he is usually a bearded man, by the Late Archaic period he has begun to shed his beard, and in red-figure of the Classical period onwards he is represented as a clean-shaven young man. But where he occasionally looks so youthful as to still be adolescent, the picture context on the other hand makes it clear that he has already reached adulthood: he may, for example, be armed or fights alongside Herakles (-see, for example, amphora, Vatican 16573, Kleophrades Painter, ca 500, ARV 182.3: LIMC V, Herakles 3186, pl 142). Such is the case here: although looking very youthful and distinctly smaller in stature than Herakles, he already carries his spears. He is also clearly much older than the boy on the right. The distinction of the characters in this scene as being of different ages is quite marked - Herakles the older bearded man, Iolaos just arrived at manhood and (?) Philoktetes still a boy. This distinction is by no means always made in red-figure scenes of Herakles and Iolaos: in many of these, both figures are represented as young men of approximately the same age, even though logically this was impossible since Iolaos was the son of Herakles' twin brother, Iphikles (-see, for example, cup, Naples, Mus Naz 81326, Manner of Epiktetos, ca 510-500, ARV 79.6: LIMC V, Iolaos 17, pl 460. Also kalpis, British Museum E224, Meidias Painter, ARV 1313.5: Add 361: LIMC V, Herakles 2717, pl 105.)

On Iolaos, see M Pipili in LIMC V, Iolaos.

150. Fröning op cit n 145, 65.

151. Fröning, op cit n 145, 64-66, suggests there was a sanctuary of Chryse in Athens, but that there must also have been a common model for the two St Petersburg vases (87, 88) and possibly also the Taranto vase (86), most likely a votive pinax or wall-painting. She is of the opinion that there is insufficient evidence to link the presence of the tripod atop a column on the St Petersburg volute-krater fragment (88) with a dithyrambic victory.

Hooker loc cit n 145 - Euripides' lost Philoktetes of 431 BC, and possibly a wall-painting of the late fifth century which influenced the Taranto (86) and St Petersburg (87, 88) vases.

K Schefold JdI 52 (1937), 50ff - a wall-painting of ca 440.

E Bielefeld Götterstatuen auf attischen Vasenbildern (1955), 384ff suggested the vase-painters knew of a sanctuary of Chryse on Lemnos by hearsay because it lay on the trade route to Athens. He thought there was also an artistic prototype, a votive picture of ca 440, created on the occasion of a dramatic victory.

152. Attic red-figure kalyx-krater, Paris, Louvre G342, from Agrigento, Altamura Painter, ca 460. ARV 590.12: Add 264: LIMC III, Chryse I 6, pl 223.

Attic red-figure stamnos, Paris, Louvre G413, from Cerveteri, Hermonax, ca 450. ARV 484.22, 1655: Para 379: Add 248: LIMC I, Agamemnon 43, pl 196; III, Chryse I 7.

153. Sophokles Philoktetes 1326 - "τὸν ἀκαλυφὴν ἑκὼν", roofless or open-air shrine. The metrical argument to Sophokles Philoktetes refers to the altar of Chryse as "βωμὸν ἐπικέχρωμένον", heaped up (with stones).

154. For a discussion of this see Fröning op cit n 145, 65-6.

155. On Euripides' Philoktetes see RC Jebb Sophocles 4 (1890), XV-XXI.

156. Fröning op cit n 145, 55.

157. Fröning op cit n 145, 55 & n 312, proposes Telamon as being the identity of one of the unnamed youths on these vases, since he was so closely connected with Herakles' Trojan adventure.

158. See, for example, kalyx-krater, St Petersburg, Hermitage 774, Kleophon Painter, ca 440-30, ARV 1144.14: Para 456: Add 334.

Bell-krater, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.25, Manner of the Kleophon Painter, ARV 1149.9: Para 457: Add 335. Bell-krater, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 95.24, Somzée Painter, late fifth century, ARV 1159(a2): Para 458: Add 337. Volute-krater, Ruvo, Jatta 1093, Kadmos Painter, end of the fifth century, ARV 1184.1: Para 460: Add 340. See also H Metzger Recherches (1965), 107-18: G Rizza ASA 37/38 (1960), 321-45.

159. D Williams in F Lissarague-F Thélamon, eds Image et Céramique Grecque (Rouen 1983), 138-9.

160. The identity of the boy as Hyllos has also been mooted by Schefold op cit n 78, 220: Brommer 2, op cit n 2, 83, B1: G Richter AJA 20 (1916), 127: G Richter & L Hall Red-Figured Athenian Vases (1936), 60.

161. Beazley ARV 319.6.

Philostratos in Imagines 419 (ed Teubner) names Philoktetes as the young arms-bearer of Herakles.

162. For representations of this scene in Attic vase-painting and for studies of the subject see J Neils The Youthful Deeds of Theseus (1987), 58-62, 96-7, 138-9: F Brommer Theseus (1982), esp 77-83 (with additional bibliography): P Jacobsthal Theseus auf dem Meeresgrund (1911): AH Smith JHS 18 (1898), 276-80 (with earlier bibliography).

163.Cup, Paris, Louvre G104 and Florence PD321, from Cerveteri, early Onesimos, potted by Euphronios, ca 495. ARV 318.1, 1645: Para 358: Add 214: LIMC I, Amphitrite 75, pl 590.

Kalyx-krater, Bologna, Mus Civ 303, from Bologna, Kadmos Painter, ca 420. ARV 1184.6: Para 460: Add 341: LIMC I, Amphitrite 79, pl 591.

164. See for example, cup, British Museum E36, ARV 115.3, 1626; cup, Florence 70 800, ARV 413.25, 1651: Para 372: Add 233; stamnos, British Museum E441, ARV 187.57: Add 188.

165. Bacchylides Ode XVI. See RC Jebb Bacchylides (1905). For the dating see Neils op cit n 162, 11: Brommer op cit n 162, 65 n 4.

166. Jebb op cit n 165: JM Edmonds, trans Lyra Graeca III (Loeb 1959).

167. For the other ancient literary sources for Theseus, see Neils op cit n 162, 5-16: H Herter RE Suppl XIII (1973), Theseus 1045-8.

Only Bacchylides, Hyginus (Poetica Astronomica II.5) and Pausanias (I.17.2-3) tell the story of Theseus' visit to the bottom of the sea.

168. See C Sourvinou-Inwood JHS 91 (1971), 94-100 on the invention of the episode of Theseus' lifting of the rock, here attributed to the late sixth century Theseid. Also Herter loc cit n 167, 1046.

169. Lekythos, Stockholm G1701, Sabouroff Painter, ca 470-60. ARV 844.145: Add 296.

Cup, Athens, National Museum 18722, near the Pithos Painter, ca 510-500. ARV 141.1: Para 335: Add 178: Sourvinou-Inwood loc cit n 168, 94-109, pl 12.

For a list of Attic red-figure vases showing Theseus lifting the rock and recovering the sword, see Brommer 2, op cit n 2, 248.

170. For a list of these vases, see Brommer 2, op cit n 2, 211-2.

171. Fröning op cit n 145, 46. That Theseus' visit to the bottom of the sea is certainly an older mythological element than the tale which came to be added to it of Minos throwing his ring into the sea and challenging Theseus to prove his divine paternity by retrieving it, see Jebb op cit n 165, 225-8.

172. P Jacobsthal Die Melischen Reliefs Nr 3, pl 3. P Amandry Collection Hélène Stathatos III, Nr 64, pl 18. A third relief is in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens. See also Brommer op cit n 162, 82.

173. Skyphos, Ferrara, Mus Naz T971, from Spina, Kadmos Painter, ca 420, ARV 1187.37: Para 460: Add 341.

The Kadmos Painter also decorated another kalyx-krater with a scene of Theseus abandoning Ariadne on Naxos, an event which most likely was supposed to have taken place on the same voyage as that on which Bacchylides describes Theseus' visit to the sea bed: Theseus' ship is visible in this picture and also on the Kadmos Painter's Bologna kalyx-krater where Triton brings Theseus to Amphitrite. On the kalyx-krater with Ariadne, Theseus is quite clearly shown as a young man carrying a pair of spears. Kalyx-krater, Syracuse, Mus Arch 17427, from Kamarina. ARV 1184.4: Para 460: Add 341.

174. Jacobsthal op cit n 162, 18.

175.Fröning op cit n 145, 45 and n 255.

176.Iliad I, 427, 500, 512-3.

177.See, amongst others, Brommer op cit n 162, 81-2; B W Häuptli AnzAlt 31 (1978), 78ff; J Barron JHS 92 (1972), 40; TBL Webster Potter and Patron (1972) 95f; Fröning op cit n 145, 44-9; Jacobsthal op cit n 162.

178.C Robert Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile, 18 Hall Winkelmannsprogramm (1895), 52.

179.Fröning op cit n 145, 44-9.

180.Jacobsthal op cit n 162.

181.Cup, New York, Metropolitan Museum 53.11.4, Briseis Painter, ca 480-75. ARV 406.7: Add 232: LIMC I, Amphinokos 76, pl 590.

182.Pointed amphora, Swiss private collection, Oreithyia Painter (Beazley), Copenhagen Painter (Isler-Kerényi), ca 475. C Isler-Kerényi Liebhaber der Meerjungfrauen (1977).

183.The wreath held in Amphinokos's left hand does not appear in many publications of Onesimos' cup tondo (see n 163). Furtwängler and Reichhold, however, assert that faint traces of the wreath are preserved and restore the wreath in FR I, 28-9 & pl 5. Jacobsthal op cit n 162, pl 1, and Isler-Kerényi op cit n 182, pl 12a follow FR.

184.See Sourvinou-Inwood loc cit n 168, 97-109 (with a summary of the bibliography for the subject).

185.We have very little evidence at all about the childhood of Theseus: Plutarch tells us his tutor was Konnidas (Theseus IV), and that when he was coming of age he went to Delphi to sacrifice some of his hair (Theseus V). Pausanias told of Herakles dining with Pittheus at Troizen; when Theseus, aged seven, was admitted to their company he attacked Herakles' lionskin with an axe, thinking it to be a lion, whilst his playmates fled. (I.27.7) Pausanias (I.27.8) also tells us that Theseus was sixteen when he lifted the rock and discovered Aigeus' tokens.

186.On the probable connection of the Erichthonios myth with the Arrephoria festival see Brulé op cit n 2, 84-87 (with further bibliography); L van Sicelijn AntCl 56 (1987), 88-102; N Robertson HSCP 87 (1983), 241-88; W Burkert Hermes 94 (1966), 1-25.

187.See E Götte Frauengemachbilder in der Vasenmalerei des fünften Jahrhunderts (PhD, Munich 1957)

Chapter Four

Non-Attic Heroes

Introduction

This chapter collects together and examines representations of all the non-Attic heroes who appear as children in Attic red-figure. This is the largest category of mythological children depicted in Attic vase-painting and comprises one-hundred-and-four catalogue entries. (90-193) Amongst these, Ganymede is the most commonly represented child, appearing certainly forty-two times (126-167) and he, together with another Trojan prince, Astyanax (112-124), accounts for over half of the total number of red-figure vases depicting the childhood of non-Attic heroes. Indeed, Trojan children provide much material for discussion, not only Astyanax and Ganymede but also Askanios, whilst the youths Troilos and Tithonos prompt further examination of the representation of adolescence in red-figure. The infant Perseus is also popular with the vase-painters, and less frequently represented are the young Achilles, Oinopion, Orestes, Alkmaion, Dryas and Itys. Making a rare appearance are the infant Oidipus, Askalaphos or Ialmenos, Erigone or Aletes, Glaukos and Meleager's son. Possible and assured representations of non-Attic mythological heroines are discussed in chapter five.

PERSEUS

Danae was daughter of King Akrisios of Argos and of Eurydike. On hearing an oracular prophecy that he would be killed by his grandchild, Akrisios tried to circumvent fate by shutting up his daughter in a subterranean chamber. This, however, did not prevent Zeus from visiting Danae in the form of golden rain and impregnating her. The outcome of the union was Perseus and despite her father, Danae and her nurse succeeded in keeping the infant hidden for some years. But eventually the king discovered the child and ordering a chest to be built, incarcerated his daughter and grandson within it, and set it out to sea. The chest finally came to rest on Seriphos where a fisherman, Diktys, opened it and rescued mother and son.

The story, to judge from our extant literary sources¹, was an exceedingly popular one in the fifth century. Pherekydes gave a full account of the tale, Simonides wrote a poignant ode about the plight of Danae and her son adrift in the chest, and lost plays by Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides and Aristias probably all worked the theme in various ways.

The myth's popularity in the fifth century is also reflected in Attic red-figure vase painting.² The subject does not occur at all in preserved Attic black-figure, where we find interest in the Perseus tale expressed rather in the action-filled moment of the slaying of the gorgon. In red-

figure, however, this theme takes very much second place to the Danae and Perseus story and seventeen red figure vases, all but one (ca 425) dating to the years between 490-40, illustrate various moments of the unfolding fate of mother and son. Furthermore, at the same time as the theme of Danae, Perseus and the chest begins to be depicted, we also see the introduction of representations of Danae and the golden rain.³

The vase shape most favoured for the Danae and Perseus story is the krater, in particular the bell-krater. But in general large vessels - kraters, hydriai, stamnoi - are popular since they provide a wide field for the narrative, multi-figured compositions. Perhaps also it is no coincidence that vase shapes used particularly by women, such as the hydria, pyxis and loutrophoros, are several times used, since the story of Danae must have had a particular appeal for them.

Amongst the seventeen pieces showing Danae, Perseus and the chest there emerge two very clear groups: the first group consists of four vases (90, 91, 92, 93), all dating to the decade 490-80, which show Danae and the little Perseus, and sometimes a nurse, before Akrisios whilst a carpenter puts the finishing touches to the chest in front of their very eyes. The second group, also composed of four vases (94, 95, 96, 97), and all dating to 460-50, shows the conclusion of the tale, when Danae and Perseus are washed up on Seriphos and there rescued by Diktys.

Of the four scenes depicting Danae and Perseus before Akrisios while the carpenter fixes the chest, the most similar illustrations are to be found on the Gallatin and Eucharides painters' vases. (90, 91) (PLS 57 & 58a) Both show a five-figured composition: Akrisios stands on the far left of the picture facing towards the centre of the scene - he holds his sceptre in his left hand and gesticulates with his right. In the middle the carpenter, dressed in a chitoniskos let down to the waist, bends over the closed chest, adding the finishing touches: on the Eucharides Painter's vase he seems to be ensuring that the lid fits properly, whilst the Gallatin Painter has shown him at work with a bow-drill, probably fitting a lock to the lid of the chest. On the far right of both scenes, a woman carries the naked little Perseus on her left arm, and gesticulates towards Akrisios with her right hand. In front of her, and partly hidden behind the chest, a second woman gestures with feeling towards the king.

The identity of the two women is uncertain; the central woman could be Danae or Eurydike, and the woman holding the child might be Danae or the nurse.⁴ Perhaps Caskey and Beazley, who favoured the identification of the woman with the child as the nurse, put forward the most convincing argument with regard to the Gallatin Painter's scene: they point out that by comparison to the other female, she looks old and worn out, with her thin figure, bony nose and more timid gesture. The Gallatin Painter has subtly characterised the aging Akrisios, with his bald head and

wrinkled forehead, so why not the nurse? In addition, the woman holding the child, along with the carpenter, is shown on a slightly smaller scale than the other figures, and so perhaps is intended to be a subordinate character. If it is the nurse who holds the child on the Gallatin Painter's vase, then most likely the equivalent figure on the Eucharides Painter's stamnos is also the nurse.

Despite all the similarities between the two scenes, there are significant differences also: the Eucharides Painter adds two Aeolic columns the second column is between the stamnos's handle roots behind Akrisios - presumably to denote the palatial setting, and whilst the clean-shaven carpenter uses no tools here as he works on the chest, the Gallatin Painter's carpenter is bearded and brandishes a bow-drill. Furthermore, whilst the former painter's Akrisios is a majestic figure, dressed in chiton and himation, and sports a full head of hair, the latter's is a much frailer figure, with balding pate, and is draped only in a himation. Finally, the pose of the central woman - Ianae? - and of Perseus is different on both vases. There can clearly be no single pictorial prototype behind these two illustrations.

The composition of the Triptolemos Painter's scene is rather different (92) (PL 58b): although the bearded, semi-naked artisan figure, bending over the claw-rooted chest and here again wielding a bow-drill, is very similar to the carpenter on the first two vases, the chest this time is

open, and Danae, with the little Perseus in her arms, seems to be standing inside it - at least her feet are not visible behind the chest. The nurse has disappeared, and old Akrisios, with white hair and beard, grasping his sceptre and gesturing towards Danae, completes the picture on the right. The child is once again naked, and assumes a similar pose to that he adopts on the Eucharides Painter's vase; perched in the crook of the woman's left arm, he sits facing left with his legs stretched in front of him, and reaches out with one or both arms. The Triptolemos Painter shows him holding out a ball, apparently oblivious to the sobriety of the moment. On the Gallatin Painter's hydria, too, Perseus seems to be more interested in what the carpenter is doing, and takes no notice of the fierce exchanges between his grandfather and the two women. Here, the (?) nurse has tucked him into her himation in like fashion to the little Hyllos tucked inside Deianeira's mantle on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's column-krater. (80) (PL 51) The reverse of the Triptolemos Painter's vase shows an earlier moment in Danae's story, as she receives Zeus's golden rain.

The fragmentary pelike by the Painter of Louvre G238 in the Getty Museum (93) (PL 59) stands somewhat apart from the preceding three vases. Although the subject of the scene is still Danae and Perseus before Akrisios whilst the carpenter prepares the chest, Perseus is no longer a naked infant in the arms of his nurse or mother, but a little boy clothed in himation and soft shoes, who stands quietly behind the chest. Remains of an inscription in retrograde survive in

front of his chin, -- 243n. Behind him are discernible the feet and part of the drapery of a figure who held a long staff or more likely sceptre - most probably therefore Akrisios, and not the nurse as Oakley has assumed. (For references see catalogue entry.) This time the child is separated from his mother, who stands opposite him on the far left of the picture, raising her veil before her face with one hand. (PL 59a) This is a very different Danae from she on the three earlier vases; her mood is much quieter, more reflective, and were it not for the inscription behind her head (ΔΑΝΑΕ) we might hesitate to identify her thus. The lid of the chest is again closed, and the carpenter, again similarly dressed, is at work with a hammer, a tool which on the Triptolemos Painter's krater lay on the ground beside the chest.

The parallels which exist between the scenes on all four vases and the fact that they were all painted around the same time suggests that the artists were inspired by some common original. The iconographical differences in their work are, however, too marked for the influence to have come from a pictorial source such as a wall-painting, and the suggestion has long been that the inspiration was dramatic: Howe has proposed that the drama in question was the fourth unknown play in Aischylos' Perseus tetralogy.⁵

The second group of four vases presents a much later moment in the Danae and Perseus saga, when mother and son arrive on Seriphos and are taken under the care of the

fisherman Diktys. A bell-krater in Syracuse (94) (PL 60a) presents us with the moment of discovery: whilst one fisherman stands behind the chest, holding open its lid, Danae and Perseus are standing within the casket, Danae gesturing with her right hand and resting her left protectively on her son's shoulder, as he turns his head to look up at her for reassurance. He is depicted as a curly-haired boy draped in a himation. In front of them, another fisherman, presumably Diktys, is involved in animated conversation with Danae. Both fishermen are bearded, and dressed in exomis and skin hat,⁶ though Diktys has removed his cap before Danae.

A pyxis by the Wedding Painter in the collection of Christoph Clairmont shows a later moment in the rescue story. (95) (PL 60b) Danae and Perseus have been released from the chest and are following a young, clean-shaven fisherman, again carrying his hat in his hand and again most likely Diktys, as he leads them away. Perseus here is also shown as a boy wrapped in a himation, and he puts us in mind of the similar little Perseus figure on the Getty pelike. (93) Whilst Diktys leads off Danae and her son, three other astonished fishermen are engaged in examining the now empty chest which is still wreathed in their nets; two of them still clutch the rope with which they have hauled it to land, and another is lifting up the chest lid and peering inside.

The other two vases with the scene - an oinochoe by the

Karlsruhe Painter (96) (PL 61a) and an unattributed bell-krater (97) (PL 61b) - are very fragmentary, but both show a bearded fisherman in skin hat, again most likely Diktys, holding up the lid of the chest and discovering its human contents. A rope seems to hang down from the lid of the chest. Just enough of Danae survives to show that on the oinochoe she must have been standing in the chest and on the bell-krater must have been seated in the casket with head lowered. No traces of Perseus remain on the Karlsruhe Painter's fragment, but he was doubtless shown in the chest with his mother. On the Agora fragments he is a naked curly-haired boy, raising his right hand, and again looking round to Danae for reassurance. Traces of an additional figure are also present on these fragments; behind Diktys a man in a himation stands holding a long staff or sceptre.

The fact that all four vases were painted between 460-50 once more suggests that there was some common inspiration for the scenes. Although the subject of all the pieces is the same, their iconography is varied, and this again implies that the inspiration was not pictorial but dramatic. This is thought by several scholars to have been Aischylos' satyr play Diktyoulkoi.⁷ If this was the case, then the series of vases dealing with the carpenter's preparation of the chest before Danae, Perseus and Akrisios (90, 91, 92, 93), decorated some thirty years earlier than the group with the Seriphos theme, is unlikely also to have been inspired by Aischylos. However, on the other hand, thought that the vases illustrating the Seriphos incident dated too late for

Aischylos, and preferred to see Aristias' Perseus, produced in 467 BC. as the inspiration behind them. (n 5) Schauenburg, however, has pointed out that the Seriphos scenes appear at the same time as red-figure pictures of the petrification of Polydektes, a theme with which Aischylos dealt in his Perseus. He therefore sees Aischylian influence in these mid-century vases rather than in the earlier scenes where the carpenter prepares the chest. (n 7) Oakley, furthermore, has introduced a new factor into the discussion (n 2): the Agora fragments (97) (PL 61b) must doubtless represent the landing on Seriphos, for the figure bending over the chest wears the characteristic fisherman's costume of exomis and skin hat. The partially preserved figure standing behind him, draped in himation, and holding a long staff or sceptre, must then be Polydektes. In all our preserved fifth century literary sources for the story, including Aischylos' Diktyoulkoi, Polydektes is not present with Diktys when Danae and Perseus are brought ashore in the chest. Oakley therefore suggests that there must have been another version of the myth also current in the fifth century, in which Polydektes met Danae on her arrival on Seriphos. He concludes that the vases depicting the Seriphos incident may have been inspired by different sources, or if only one source was responsible then it could not have been Aischylos' Diktyoulkoi. In view of the fact that so much of the fifth century dramatic output on the Danae and Perseus theme has been lost to us, the question of the specific dramatic inspiration behind our scenes of Danae and Perseus on Seriphos must therefore remain open.

Apart from these two distinctive groups of vases, most of the remaining red-figure illustrations of the Danae and Perseus story show mother and son in the chest before Akrisios prior to being set adrift. No particular iconographic schema is followed by the vase-painters and the theme remains popular throughout the years from about 490-40. Two scenes, however, stand apart from the rest. One, on a lekythos decorated by the Ikaros Painter about 460, depicts Danae and Perseus in the chest drawn in outline against the reserved lid of the chest - with birds wheeling around their heads: although the sea is not shown and the chest lid is open, this picture almost certainly shows the unfortunate pair adrift on the ocean. (98) (PL 62a) It brings to mind Simonides' touching ode in which Danae laments the fate of herself and her child afloat at sea.⁸ The other unique scene occurs on an earlier lekythos of about 480-70 by the Providence Painter. (99) (PL 62b) Here, Akrisios is depicted in much the same pose as the Triptolemos Painter had earlier shown him, standing facing to left, dressed in chiton and himation, clutching his sceptre in his left hand and gesturing forcefully with his outstretched right arm. In the very centre of the picture we see the little Perseus alone in the chest, stretching up a hand to his mother, who is about to stoop to place an alabastron in the chest, a vessel which she has presumably prepared to accompany herself and her son in death. Schefold points out that the subject is a very appropriate choice for the decoration of the lekythos shape with all its funereal connotations and uses.⁹

The Deepdene Painter decorated both faces of a stamnos in New York with the Danae and Perseus story. (100) (PL 63a) On the obverse we see Akrisios standing before the chest, in which are set his daughter and grandson: Danae fearfully raises one hand to her mouth and rests the other reassuringly on Perseus' head. The child, only just visible above the side of the chest, stretches out a hand towards his grandfather. On the reverse of the vase, a seated woman with sceptre, and therefore most probably Eurydike, like Danae raises a hand to her lips. Also present is the carpenter, no longer at work on the chest as on the earlier vases, but similarly dressed and still clutching his hammer. Between queen and carpenter, and the only figure to be identified by an inscription on this side of the vase, is a young woman, Damolyte, who looks away from the events taking place on the other side of the stamnos, and pinches her nose with her right hand, perhaps to hold back her tears. Standing beside Eurydike and holding a casket, she is probably best interpreted as a maid.

An equivalent young female figure appears in the Danae Painter's scene of Danae and Perseus in the chest. (101) (PL 63b) Danae this time must be seated for only her veiled head and shoulders are visible above the side of the chest, and little Perseus, shown in the unusual position of facing her, must be seated on her knee. Just as on the Gallatin Painter's vase he was tucked into the nurse's himation, (90) so here he seems to be enfolded in Danae's veil. Akrisios and another woman, perhaps Eurydike, look on together with

the younger female figure. The latter character plays a central role in this scene, and considering that the equivalent figure was inscribed with a name, *Phamolyte*, on the Deepdene Painter's stamnos, we may perhaps see on these two vases the reflection of some literary version in which the young servant played a role. If the influence was dramatic, this could conceivably have been Sophokles' Akrisios or Danae. The mood is now much more reflective and weighted with pathos than in the earlier scenes in which the carpenter is still at work.

The Eucharides Painter's version of Danae and Perseus in the chest before Akrisios, painted about 490-80, shows Danae clutching her tightly-wrapped infant son to her bosom, whilst her father gesticulates animatedly before her: (102) (PL 64) he is framed by the columns and entablature of his palace. A few scholars have interpreted this kingly figure as Polydektes and located the scene on Seriphos:¹⁰ however, the similarly gesturing king on the same painter's stamnos discussed above (91) (PL 58a) also stands between two columns representing his palace, and he is there without doubt Akrisios arguing with his daughter before she is incarcerated in the chest. The Eucharides Painter in his cup tondo has therefore most likely depicted a moment subsequent to this with Danae and Perseus now committed to the chest before the king.

A bell-krater fragment of about 450-40 by the Phiale Painter also depicts Danae and Perseus in the chest before

Akrisios. (103) (PL 65a) Danae is again veiled and raises a hand to her downcast face in a gesture similar to that displayed by the Deepdene Painter's Danae (100) (PL 63a), whilst the child looks up in anticipation at his grandfather. Of this latter figure, only part of the chiton and himation, right arm and striped sceptre survive, and the incompleteness of the picture has led to the suggestion that this is not Akrisios but Polydektes, and that the scene is set on Seriphos.¹¹ The apparent presence of Polydektes at the landing of Danae and Perseus on Seriphos on the Agora fragments discussed above (97) lends some credibility to this idea, but even then it is Diktys and not Polydektes who directly confronts mother and son. Akrisios, on the other hand, stands directly in front of the chest with its human cargo on the Deepdene Painter's stamnos (100) and on the Eucharides Painter's cup, (102) and the Phiale Painter's kingly figure is thus far more likely to be Akrisios.

The Phiale Painter, like the Eucharides Painter, seems to have left us two vases illustrating the Danae and Perseus theme. Unfortunately, we have only two fragments of his second picture which probably decorated a stamnos. (104) (PL 65b) They show the front part of a large chest in three-quarter view and the feet and lower drapery of a figure standing before it. As Oakley has pointed out,¹² a large chest appears elsewhere in the work of the Phiale Painter only in the representation discussed above with Danae and Perseus. (103) The theme of the picture on the fragments was doubtless the same, but it is almost

impossible to try and reconstruct the composition.

Finally, we come to two fragments whose precise interpretation is dubious.¹³ The first is from a bell-krater of about 425 BC by the Painter of the Athens Dinos (105) (PL 66a), which preserves parts of a chest in three-quarter view with its lid apparently closed. Nevertheless, a figure partly obscured by the chest appears to stand within it since no feet are visible below its bottom edge. A minute fragment of the drapery of a second person is visible to the right of this figure. In front of the chest, part of the legs and short skirt of a third figure who must have been carrying a staff or some tool, since a long thin object is visible between him and the chest. Since none of the Seriphos fishermen hold any objects on 94, 95, 96 & 97, this person in short skirt must be the carpenter. Thus the vase most probably depicted Danae and Perseus standing in (or behind?) the chest observing the carpenter finishing his work. Akrisios would doubtless have figured in the composition. Perhaps our closest parallel for the scene is that on the Getty pelike (93). The Painter of the Athens Dinos thus probably provides us with our latest illustration of the Danae and Perseus theme in extant Attic red-figure.

It is difficult to comment on the other fragment with the theme since it is as yet unpublished. It belongs to a loutrophoros which probably dated to the second quarter of the fifth century. (106) Oakley informs us that it depicts Danae and Perseus, the carpenter and the nurse, and suggests

that it might belong to the first group of vases showing the carpenter putting the finishing touches to the chest in front of Danae and Perseus.

If we look more closely at the iconography of the little Perseus himself, it can be seen that he is sometimes represented as a small child as, for example, on the Eucharides Painter's cup (102) where he is a swaddled infant in his mother's arms: on the other hand, he sometimes appears as an older boy as, for instance, on the Getty pelike (93) or the Clairmont pyxis (95) where, mutilated in a himation, he stands or walks independently of his mother. The scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios, following the fifth century writer Pherekydes, tells us that Perseus was three or four years old when he was discovered by Akrisios.¹⁴ On the Getty and Clairmont vases, and also on the Syracuse krater (94), he certainly looks considerably older than this. Furthermore, whilst the scholiast tells us that Akrisios killed the nurse and then set Danae and Perseus adrift in the chest, the nurse still seems to be alive and present in several of our red-figure scenes. (90, 91, 100, 101, 106) These apparent contradictions between the pictorial and literary accounts should not however present a problem or even necessarily imply the existence of independent literary and pictorial traditions for the story: the myth was clearly a popular one in the fifth century and was almost certainly worked in different ways by Pherekydes, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides and perhaps others whose works have vanished without trace. The variety of detail in

our red-figure scenes is most likely therefore simply a reflection of this diversity.

Interestingly, the most consistent iconographic feature in all the vase-paintings depicting the story is the chest: in every case where its feet survive, with the exception of that on the Eucharides Painter's cup (102), it is claw-rooted, and in most of the pictures it also has air-holes and is decorated with a star motif or motifs. Our other red-figure subject which presents us with a mythological child in a chest is Erichthonios, but the casket there is markedly smaller and less distinguished and is probably better interpreted as a basket. (50, 52, 53, 54) ¹⁵

ACHILLES

Representations of the childhood of Achilles are most popular in the Roman period. Those which do occur in Greek art are found mainly in Attic vase-painting, and confine themselves to the episode of the handing over of the young hero to his tutor, the centaur Chiron.¹⁶ In preserved Attic red-figure the subject occurs five times only, on vases decorated between about 520-475. (107, 108, 109, 110, 111) However, in extant Attic black-figure the theme is far more popular, with some twenty vases illustrating the theme, and in order to put our red-figure scenes in context we must first look at these earlier depictions.

Our earliest representation pre-dates the true Attic black-figure style, and is found on a Proto-Attic amphora of the mid-seventh century.¹⁷ This shows Peleus carrying the infant Achilles to Chiron. Now the early literary sources preserve two different versions of the childhood of Achilles.¹⁸ Homer tells us that Achilles was brought up in the home of his mother, Thetis, and father, Peleus, and cared for there by Phoinix. Chiron is mentioned only as Achilles' tutor in medicine.¹⁹ Our other ancient sources, however, relate that the infant Achilles was given to Chiron to rear because Peleus had discovered Thetis trying to purge the child of its mortality by fire and she, being thwarted, had abandoned husband and son and returned to the sea and her sister Nereids. The importance of our seventh century Proto-Attic vase lies in the fact that in illustrating the

latter version of the story in which Achilles is delivered to Chiron as an infant to be raised by the centaur, it pre-dates by about a century and a half our earliest preserved literary version of the tale, which is found in Pindar.²⁰ This form of the myth was very likely even older than the mid-seventh century, and probably found its roots in the original myth cycles and narrative folk traditions.²¹

An analysis of the iconography of our black-figure vases recording the childhood of Achilles shows a broad division into two groups: the first group, into which our Proto-Attic amphora fits, shows the infant Achilles - usually draped - carried by Peleus to Chiron,²² whilst the second group depicts Achilles brought to the centaur as an older boy and standing naked before him. Scholars have made very plausible attempts to assign to the second group of vases the influence of the Homeric version of the tale, in which Chiron is only Achilles' occasional tutor in medicine, presumably when the boy was old enough to learn about such matters. whilst interpreting the first group of vases where Achilles is still an infant as a reflection of the popular folk tradition in which the centaur rears the boy from infancy. There are, however, as we shall see, still some unsolved contradictions contained in this hypothesis.

The first group of vases showing the infant Achilles carried to Chiron is by far the largest of the two groups. The earliest representation, as we have seen, decorates a Proto-Attic amphora of the mid-seventh century, and our

latest vases with the scene date to about 500. The amphora is the favourite shape for the theme. The vases are as follows:-

- i. Amphora frr, Florence, Mus Archeol, Swing Painter, ca 550. ABV 309.84: LIMC I, Achilleus 24.
- ii. Neck-amphora, Louvre F21, Affecter, ca 530 20. ABV 244.48: Add 62: LIMC III, Cheiron 46.
- iii. Neck-amphora, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.18, Group of Würzburg 199, ca 520. ABV 288.13: Add 75: LIMC I, Achilleus 20, pl 58.
- iv. Neck-amphora, Essen A166, Antimenes Painter, ca 520. H Fröning Katalog der Griechischen & Italischen Vasen (Essen 1982). 130-2, no 55, pl p 131.
- v. Neck-amphora, Naples 3A160, Antimenes Painter, ca 520. ABV 271.68: Add 71: LIMC I, Achilleus 28.
- vi. Amphora, Boulogne 572, ca 520. LIMC I, Achilleus 23, pl 59.
- vii. Neck-amphora, Warsaw 142328, Diosphos Painter, ca 500. Add 127: LIMC I, Achilleus 34, pl 60.
- viii. Neck-amphora, Florence, Mus Archeol, ca 500. LIMC I, Achilleus 25.
- ix. Amphora, Corinth C31.80, Eucharides Painter, ca 500. ARV 1637.9 bis: Para 174: LIMC I, Achilleus 26.
- x. Siana cup frr, Palermo 1856, Heidelberg Painter, ca 560 ABV 65.45: Add 17: LIMC I, Achilleus 30; III, Cheiron 45, pl 191.
- xi. Siana cup, Würzburg L452, Heidelberg Painter, ca 550. ABV 63.6: Add 17: LIMC I, Achilleus 35, pl 60.

- xii. Kantharos, Odessa 26650, Pholos Painter or close to, ca 500. ABV 708: Add 137: LIMC I, Achilles 29, pl 59.
- xiii. Oinochoe (white-ground), British Museum B620, Painter of London B 620, ca 510. ABV 434.1: Add 111: LIMC I, Achilles 27, pl 59.

The second and smaller group of vases, with Achilles brought as a grown boy to Chiron, starts later, about 510 BC, and then is produced concurrently with the first group down to about 490. In this second group the lekythos is the favourite shape. The vases are as follows:-

- xiv. Lekythos, Palermo 2792, Manner of the Athena Painter, ca 500. ABV 523: Add 130: LIMC I, Achilles 31; III, Cheiron 51, pl 192.
- xv. Lekythos, Syracuse 18418, Edinburgh Painter, ca 500. ABV 476: Add 120: LIMC I, Achilles 33.
- xvi. Lekythos, Basle market, ca 490. LIMC I, Achilles 36.
- xvii. Lekythos (white-ground), Athens, National Museum 550, Edinburgh Painter, ca 500. ABV 476.1: LIMC I, Achilles 19, pl 58.
- xviii. Hydria, Berlin Staatl Mus F1901, Leagros Group, ca 510. ABV 361.22: Add 96: LIMC I, Achilles 22, pl 59
- xix. Hydria, lost, once Rome market (Basseggio), Leagros Group, ca 510. ABV 361.23: Add 96: LIMC I, Achilles 37; III, Cheiron 47, pl 191.
- xx. Lekanis lid fr, Paris, Cab Méd, Edinburgh Painter, ca 500. LIMC I, Achilles 32.

In this second group of vases, Chiron always stands on the far right of the picture facing left; he is draped and usually carries a branch which may be slung with hunting spoils. Peleus, dressed as a traveller or hunter, stands facing him, and between them, usually facing the centaur, stands Achilles, depicted as a naked boy. On xvii the little hero carries a diminutive hunting sword, and on xv, xvi and xx a pair of spears or javelins. These vases, three of which (xv, xvii, xx) were decorated by the Edinburgh Painter, put us in mind of Pindar's later words in his third Nemean Ode:-

"Whereas Achilles of the golden hair, while lingering in the home of Philyra, and while yet a child, disported himself in mighty deeds, full often brandishing in his hands a javelin with its tiny blade."²³

On xx, Achilles also carries an aryballos suspended from a string, and Beck has noted the parallel between these representations and concurrent depictions of mortal Athenian schoolboys.²⁴ Thetis appears to be present on all the vases of the second group, with the exception of the Edinburgh Painter's Athens lekythos (xvii); she bids farewell to her son or turns away sorrowful at their parting. If the painters of these vases were following the Homeric version of the myth, Thetis' presence here is quite acceptable: she has raised her son from birth to boyhood and now with her husband commits him for a period of time to the wise centaur to learn the art of medicine. On the Edinburgh Painter's Athens lekythos (xvii), her place is taken by Athena and Hermes, and although our extant literary sources

assign Hermes no role in the tale, we shall see him again in both black- and red-figure representations of the childhood of Achilles.

Returning to our first group of vases we see that, with the exception of xii and our Proto-Attic amphora, Chiron is always depicted standing facing to right, again draped and usually shouldering a large branch, which is often hung with hunting spoils. On iii, vi, vii, ix and xiii the composition is restricted to the three main characters - Chiron, Peleus and Achilles. Peleus approaches from the right, usually carrying the little Achilles in his arms, though on one occasion (iii), the centaur has already taken charge of the infant. The Antimenes Painter supplements the representation on his amphora in Naples (v) with a fourth character, Hermes, and the Affecter, who depicts Chiron in fully-human guise, adds three male figures into his picture. (ii) So far these scenes agree with the ancient version of Achilles' childhood set down by later writers in which Thetis abandons her husband and infant son, so that the child must be taken at an early age by Peleus to Chiron for his care and upbringing. However, our remaining six vases - i, iv, viii, x, xi, xii - present us with some problems, for in all of these scenes Peleus and his infant son are accompanied by a woman who can be no other than Thetis.

The second group of vases depicting Achilles as a grown boy brought by Peleus and Thetis to Chiron, and presumably following the Homeric version of the myth, was produced

between about 510-490, and Friis Johansen has suggested that this reflects the influence of the introduction by Hipparchus of Homeric recitals into the Panathenaic festival during the last quarter of the sixth century.²⁵ Thetis, however, had already appeared earlier in scenes of the infant Achilles brought to Chiron in the mid-sixth century. (i, x, xi) If her presence here was due simply, as Beck has proposed,²⁶ to confusion of the two versions of the myth by the vase-painters, then the Homeric recitals at the Panathenaia did nothing to clear up this confusion since the vase-painters continued to include Thetis in scenes with the infant Achilles until the close of the sixth century. (iv, viii, xii) Perhaps already by the mid-sixth century, if not before, a third version of the myth, now lost to us, had grown out of the existing two versions in an attempt to reconcile the contradiction.

Let us now turn to the red-figure representations of the subject, which show Achilles brought to Chiron both as a babe in arms and as an older boy. The Berlin Painter continued the tradition of the second group of black-figure vases, with his red-figure scene painted about 490 on a stamnos in the Louvre. (107) (PL 66b) This shows Chiron again standing on the far right of the picture, draped in a himation, and supporting on his shoulder a large branch hung with hunting spoils. Before him stands the naked little boy hero, whose shoulder-length blond locks, rendered in dilute paint, call to mind Pindar's description (Nem III.43) of "Achilles of the golden hair". As D Kurtz has pointed

out.²⁷ the Berlin Painter did not often depict children, and for all his sensitivity and fineness of line, those he did portray appear as scaled-down young men, with small head, long thorax and legs, shallow groin and well-muscled physique. Such is his boy Achilles, and such also is the Berlin Painter's boy Ganymede on the well-known Louvre bell-krater (126), where the same blond locks also grace the "golden-haired Ganymedes". (see p 329) Behind Achilles stands Peleus, as usual dressed as a hunter: it is interesting to compare his mature and bearded state here with his appearance on another stamnos by the Berlin Painter where as a young clean-shaven man he proudly presents Chiron with his newly-won wife.²⁸ In the centre of the scene on the Louvre stamnos stands a tree which, symbolic of Chiron's wooded home territory of Pelion, had appeared several times already in black-figure representations of the scene. (ii. xiii, xviii, xix) The most unusual feature of the Berlin Painter's rendering of the delivery of Achilles to Chiron is the absence of Thetis, for she is present in all but one (xvii) of our black-figure illustrations of this version of the myth. However, the Berlin Painter's composition is noticeably less cluttered than those of the black-figure artists, and he may have excluded her for the sake of symmetry.

Our latest depiction of the childhood of Achilles dates to about 475, and is found on a white-ground lekythos in Copenhagen by the Painter of Munich 2774. (108) (PL 67a) This presents the myth version in which Achilles is

delivered to Chiron as an infant, but the painter has introduced a new element by showing the child in the arms of Hermes who, clutching his kerykeion, is unmistakable: Peleus is altogether absent. Hermes, as we have seen, was certainly no stranger to the little Achilles; he appears with him in several of our black-figure scenes (v, on reverse of vii, x, xvii), but there acts only as an observer whilst Peleus himself presents the centaur with his son. We shall see Hermes present on this occasion a second time in red-figure. on a cup by Makron (109), though it is unlikely that he there cradled the child in his arms.

As far as we know from the preserved literary sources, Hermes played no part in the mythological stories concerning the child Achilles, but he was nonetheless an appropriate figure to include in the representation of the childhood of a hero. As Zeus' messenger and protector of divine and heroic children, we have already seen him depicted with the infants Dionysos and Herakles. As with Achilles, his undertaking with the little Herakles is to carry him to Chiron. (ch 3, p 184 & n 110) and indeed Beazley at one point had interpreted the scene on our white-ground lekythos as Hermes carrying Herakles to the centaur.²⁹ But considering that Achilles brought to Chiron seems to have been a much more popular subject in Attic vase-painting and that Hermes had several times already appeared in such scenes, the child is more likely to be Achilles. G Siebert, however, sees Heraklian significance in the large knotted staff or club which Chiron holds, and maintains that the infant is

Herakles.³⁰ But as Beck has pointed out,³¹ Chiron also holds a knotted staff on the Edinburgh Painter's lekythos in Syracuse (xv), where the boy is clearly Achilles. He suggests that the interpretation of this knotted staff should perhaps rather be as the *narthex*, the symbol of the teacher's authority.³² On the other hand, a club or knotted staff could be appropriate here to Chiron as a hunter.

The iconographic schema in use for the infant Achilles theme on the Copenhagen white-ground lekythos is a familiar one in childhood scenes of greeting or farewell of the Early Classical period: two standing figures are confronted as one receives from, or presents a child to the other, and the infant twists in the arms of his guardian to reach out to the second figure. It is a schema we have seen in scenes of the infant Dionysos where a nymph receives the child from Zeus (6, 8) or is presented with the baby by Hermes (14), and is familiar also from the Siren Painter's picture of Hyllos presented by Deianeira to Herakles. (79) It is an iconographic formula we shall see in use again for the infant Oinopion, (171) where the parallels with our white-ground scene with the little Achilles are particularly close. It is also worth noting that Chiron on our white-ground lekythos is a much more majestic and imposing figure than he appears elsewhere in black- or red-figure scenes with Achilles: usually, he looks the country-dweller, draped simply in a himation and shouldering a branch suspended with his hunting trophies. But here with his fine chiton and

himation, his head wreathed, he is not dissimilar to the stately figures of Zeus and Dionysos as they appear in the aforementioned scenes with the infant Dionysos (6, 8) and Oinopion (171) respectively.

He may have appeared in similar fashion on a red-figure cup by Makron which was found on the Athenian Akropolis. (109) (PL 67b) Unfortunately, this is very fragmentary, and only one of his rear legs, along with a small part of his second, both his human front feet, and the hem of his chiton and ends of his himation survive. Though the picture is incomplete, there is no mistaking the unique iconography of this cup amongst our extant representations of the childhood of Achilles: Makron must here have depicted the bringing of the infant to Chiron in the presence of the gods. Chiron stands in front of his cave and is approached first by a figure of whom is preserved only his boot-shod legs and a corner of his short garment: this must be Peleus, again dressed as a hunter or traveller. Following him marches Hermes in his winged boots, and behind him is Zeus with striped sceptre and thunderbolt. Next comes another male figure in short chiton and himation, one hand on hip and holding a staff (or possibly tripod?), perhaps Poseidon. There follows Dionysos, easily identifiable with his kantharos and thyrsos stalk, Apollo with his kithara, and Artemis with her bow. The rest of the cup is lost, except for the feet and lower drapery of two further unidentifiable figures. The little Achilles has himself also been lost, but clearly he must have been depicted as an infant, carried

in the arms either of Peleus or of Hermes.

This representation immediately calls to mind another fine cup by Makron, also from the Athenian Akropolis, depicting a procession of gods, amongst whom Zeus carries the infant Dionysos towards an altar at which women, perhaps the Nymphs of Nysa, prepare offerings. (10) (PL 7) (see ch 1, p 44-7) By analogy with this scene, in which it is Zeus, the father of Dionysos, who carries the child, I think it is most likely that it was Peleus who carried his son to Chiron on 109. Although Hermes and occasionally Athena are present in several of our extant scenes of Achilles delivered to Chiron, (v, reverse of vii, x, xvii, 108) it is only on Makron's cup that we have a real Olympian gathering, and the implication here is that Peleus brings his son to Chiron with at least the gods' seal of approval and perhaps at their command. This, however, is more likely to be Makron's own invention and interpretation of the story, than it is to be derived from any particular version of the myth current in the fifth century. For the painter here adapts and uses the same iconographic schema, namely a divine procession at the presentation of a divine child, which he employs on his cup (10) with the infant Dionysos; and just as there he introduces gods who rarely or nowhere else appear in vase-painting with the little Dionysos - Athena, Poseidon, Amphitrite - he here allots the Olympian family a role in the childhood of Achilles.

Our other two red-figure vases depicting the little

Achilles were both painted by Oltos about 520-10. One, a Nikosthenic amphora in the Louvre is decorated with a very simple composition of Chiron holding the infant hero in one hand and shouldering a branch hung with a hare in the other. (110) (PL 68a) The other vase is a cup, and this time the boy Achilles stands before Chiron whilst Thetis runs off to right. (111) (PL 68b) It is interesting that Oltos has shown both the version of the myth in which Achilles is reared by Chiron from infancy, and also the version in which he is handed over to Chiron as an older boy only for his education. The other vase-painters from whose hand survive more than one illustration of the childhood of Achilles all seem to have remained faithful to one version of the story: the Edinburgh Painter three times represents the hero delivered to Chiron for his education as a grown boy (p 73 - xv, xvii, xx), and painters of the Leagros Group also twice depict this episode (xviii, xix). whilst the Heidelberg and Antimenes Painters each twice illustrate the child carried as a babe in arms to the centaur. (iv, v, x, xi)

Furthermore, both of Oltos' representations of the tale are very unusual. Although we have already occasionally seen the infant Achilles held by Chiron rather than Peleus (iii, viii), one or both of the hero's parents are still there present. On Oltos' Louvre amphora, however, the centaur and child are an isolated group, and we may perhaps assume that Achilles' upbringing and education has already begun. Alternatively, Oltos may be excerpting his group from larger compositions of the subject in order to decorate

the relatively narrow field of the Nikosthenic amphora. A Nereid running with dolphins on the neck of the vase may be intended to emphasise the absence of Thetis, the very reason why her infant son has been committed to the keeping of the wise centaur. It is also worth noting that, like so many of the black-figure artists of the first group of vases, Oltos has also chosen an amphora shape for his representation of Achilles as a babe in arms.

The picture on Oltos' cup is unique. For Peleus is entirely absent and Thetis alone has brought her son to Chiron. Inscriptions for centaur, child and woman confirm their identities. Although Peleus is missing, the scene does not contradict the Homeric version of the story: Homer makes reference to Achilles being reared by his mother (n 19), and there is no reason why she herself should not deliver him when grown to boyhood to Chiron for his education in medicine. Oltos' cup is one of the earliest Attic vases to portray this version of the myth, and it seems that his rather individual interpretation of the episode was not taken up by other painters. Not only does he omit Peleus, but he situates the centaur on the left of the picture facing right, whilst all our other extant illustrations with the boy Achilles show the centaur on the right facing left.

The childhood of Achilles was essentially an Archaic, and in art mainly a black-figure subject, and found its period of greatest popularity in the last quarter of the

sixth century. Although it continued into red-figure, with both known versions of the story being depicted - and in red-figure co-existing with the black-figure representations between about 520-500 - real interest in the subject was now on the wane. Significantly, the Eucharides Painter, an artist who worked in the black- as well as the red-figure technique, and who depicted other mythological childhood stories in red-figure (Dionysos on 9, Perseus on 91 & 102) chose to illustrate his version of the infant Achilles theme in the old black-figure style. (p 272 - ix) The black-figure artists had developed two basic iconographic formulae for the theme, but with the birth of the new red-figure technique the vase-painters no longer felt constrained by these schemata and, though remaining faithful to the mythological traditions for the story, began to experiment with their own pictorial interpretations of the theme. For example, Peleus, a stock figure of the old black-figure representations, appears only twice in the red-figure illustrations, and Hermes takes a more active role than heretofore. Only the Berlin Painter continues in red-figure more or less with the black-figure schema for the subject. But, for all their experimentation with the theme, the red-figure vase-painters never fixed on a new iconographic formula for the representation of the myth, and by about 475 the childhood of Achilles disappears from Attic vase-painting.

Beck interprets the late sixth century taste for scenes of Achilles and Chiron as a reflection of the growing

popularity of formal schooling at Athens.³³ Chiron was well-known in mythology as a teacher of Greek heroes, not only of Achilles, but of Jason, Asklepios, Herakles and others,³⁴ although in Attic vase-painting we see Chiron only with Achilles, and once with Herakles. (ch 3, n 110) The wise centaur was regarded as a teacher of medicine and healing, hunting, music and moral conduct, and his wisdom was contained in something approaching a school text-book, Χίρωνος ὁποῖα or The Precepts of Chiron, which went under the name of Hesiod. (chapter 3, n 58): indeed, we see +IPONEIA written on a pupil's scroll on a red-figure kyathos by Onesimos. (chapter 3, n 59) But Chiron was never perceived to be a teacher of literacy, and in this respect Beck equates the form of education he symbolised with the Old Athenian Education of the music teacher and paidotribes. It may therefore be significant that depictions of Chiron with his pupil Achilles disappear in the Early Classical period, at the very time when the New Education of the grammatistes had established itself in Athens.

TROJAN CHILDREN

Trojan children represented in Attic red-figure comprise Astyanax, Askanios, Ganymede and probably also Paris. The figures of Troilos and Tithonos provide further opportunity for the application of objective criteria in the analysis of age representation, and permit continued discussion of the iconography of adolescence.

Red-figure scenes with Trojan children and youths can be divided thematically into two main categories. The first group, consisting of Astyanax, Askanios and Troilos, takes as its common subject matter the Ilioupersis. These scenes, which depict either violence threatened or committed by Greek warriors against Trojan children or youths, or the flight by the latter from such dangers, were first established in the black-figure style, and subsequently continue in red-figure to about 460 BC.

The second red-figure group of Trojan children and youths, which comprises Ganymede, Tithonos and probably Paris, employs the pursuit and abduction schemata so popular in the fifth century. This iconographic formula is quickly established for the Trojan heroes in the years around 490 and subsequently continues in very frequent use until about 440. Ganymede is also, less commonly, depicted in another context where, post-pursuit, he serves as cupbearer to the gods.

Astyanax

Representations of the brutal death of the little Trojan prince, Astyanax, occur in extant Attic red-figure vase-painting twelve times between about 510-460.³⁵ Half of these vases are cups, which belong to the earlier part of this period, that is to about 510-480; the scene may decorate the tondo or the cup exterior. (112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117) Although the identities and attitudes of the additional figures in these scenes are variable, that of the three main characters remains the same: old Priam sits on an altar facing to right whilst Neoptolemos, fully armed, rushes forwards to attack him from the right, wielding over his shoulder the headlong body of the naked child Astyanax by one leg.

Our earliest cup in this series was painted by Oltos about 510 BC. (112) (PL 69) In the centre of one exterior face we see Priam, his hair and beard grizzled with age, taking refuge on the altar. Neoptolemos (inscribed), advancing from the right, holds out his shield before him, and prepares to launch the child's body over his head at the old man. The figure of Astyanax is unusual in that his body is twisted in such a physically impossible fashion that we see the back of his head rather than his face. To right, a fleeing woman looks back over her shoulder at the carnage, and to left Menelaos (inscribed) leads away Helen. The themes of the destruction of the Trojan royal family and the desecration of the gods' sanctuaries are continued on the

other side of the cup, where Ajax (inscribed) attacks kassandra before the statue of Athena.

The same themes are employed by Onesimos on the interior of his beautiful monumental cup in the Getty Museum. (113) (PL 70) In the tondo, white-haired old Priam has to no avail taken refuge at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (inscribed); he stretches out his hands in supplication to Neoptolemos (inscribed), who has already started to launch his pitiful human missile against him. Astyanax's face, and indeed his whole body except for his lower legs, is presented to us in frontal view, and his name appears below his left arm. In the background, Priam's daughter Polyxena (inscribed) tears her hair, and behind the altar a warrior lies slumped on the ground, his makhaira lying useless before the altar: the vase is badly damaged at this point and the warrior's torso and head do not survive, but since traces of his fingers appear stretching up towards Astyanax, he cannot yet be dead and must be lying wounded, probably mortally so. Part of the inscription naming the warrior survives as $\text{IAI} \phi \text{ONOS}$, and Dfiry Williams proposes that the identity of the fallen man is most likely to be Deiphobos, one of Priam's sons and Polyxena's brother, since the picture would then represent the destruction of three generations of the Trojan royal house: Williams therefore suggests that Onesimos may have made a slip in his spelling of the name.³⁶ Further episodes from the final destruction of Troy decorate the zone around the tondo; directly above the tondo scene we see Kassandra (inscribed), wrenched from

Athena's statue by Ajax. and next to right a Greek warrior is on the offensive against an already wounded Trojan who stands over the body of a collapsed compatriot. Beyond this vignette is the badly damaged group of Antenor and Theano appealing for mercy to Odysseus. The following series of figures do not survive, but positioned directly beneath the tondo picture and immediately opposite the figure of Kassandra at the statue of Athena, Menelaos (inscribed) drops his sword at the sight of Helen (inscribed) whilst a miniature Eros hovering between them ensures the reconciliation of the couple. Beyond them, the vase is again badly damaged but there are remnants of two men fighting. and a woman wielding a double axe and inscribed AN..., probably Andromache or Antiope. Next a group of two warriors, one of whom is inscribed IMC~~Φ~~ON, confronting an old woman at an altar is best interpreted as the rescue of Aithra by her grandsons Akamas and Demophon. And finally, completing the circle of the zone, a woman with a pestle battles the warrior Sthenelos (inscribed).

The Getty cup can be dated to the decade 500-490, and though sadly damaged it permits the elucidation of the very fragmentary tondo scene on another cup decorated by Onesimos somewhat earlier in his career, around 500: indeed this earlier cup, whose fragments are now divided between the Vatican and the Staatliche Museen in Berlin. (114) (PL 71a) must have presented a picture very similar to that in the tondo of the Getty cup. The fragments show a white-bearded old man sitting facing to right on an altar. which is

identified as that of Zeus by an inscription - ΑΙΟΞ
 ΗΙΕΡΟ[Ν]. Overlapping his upper body is a shield, with its
 device of a magnificent roaring lion drawn in relief. The
 bearer of the shield is a warrior wearing a scaled corslet,
 over which hangs the tail end of his helmet plume. Confronting the warrior and standing behind the old man is a
 female figure. Remains of a lower leg, arm and shoulder
 survive of a figure lying on the ground behind the altar.
 The fifth character in the scene is a naked boy whose body,
 suspended in mid-air, encroaches on the encircling floral
 border beyond the limits of the tondo. The scene clearly
 showed Priam seated on the altar of Zeus and attacked by
 Neoptolemos who must have brandished the little Astyanax by
 one leg. Below the boy, the inscription ΑΣΤΥΟΧΣ is
 presumably a misspelling of ΑΣΤΥΑΝΑΞ.³⁷ By analogy with
 the Getty cup, the woman standing behind Priam is most
 likely to be Polyxena: Dyfri Williams proposes the
 reconstruction of the woman's left arm as being stretched
 out towards Neoptolemos,³⁸ but the surviving fragments of
 her drapery make it equally likely that her arms were raised
 to her head as on the Getty cup. Both cups show Priam
 stretching out his hands in similar gestures to Neoptolemos;
 one hand is turned palm outwards against his attacker in
 feeble self-defence. whilst the other reaches out in a
 beseeching gesture, palm uppermost, fingers outstretched
 towards the warrior's face. As for Neoptolemos, not only
 does he wear a scaled corslet and plumed helmet on both
 vases, but in the Berlin-Vatican picture a double strap
 cutting across his corslet must have supported a sword at

his left hip, just as on the Getty cup.

Beazley, noting traces of an inscription naming Euphronios in the exergue of the Berlin-Vatican tondo but lacking the verb, thought that the fragments dated too late to have been painted by Euphronios, and attributed them to the Manner of Euphronios. Williams, on the other hand, suggests Onesimos in his early phase as the painter of the cup, with Euphronios as potter; a partnership repeated many times in Euphronios' later years. Given the close parallels in composition and style between this scene and that of Onesimos' Getty cup, which is also signed by Euphronios as potter, Williams' proposal finds almost certain confirmation. Both vases appear to have made their way to Etruria; the Getty piece carries a long Etruscan graffiti on the underside of the foot dedicating the cup to Herakles, and the Vatican fragments of the other cup were lying in an Etruscan urn in the basement of the Museo Gregoriano when Albizzati came across them in the early part of this century.

A decade or so after Onesimos painted his *Ilioupersis* tondo scenes, the Brygos Painter chose the same theme to adorn the exterior of his cup in the Louvre. (115) In the centre of side A (PL 72a) we see Priam (inscribed) perched precariously, facing to right, on the blood-stained altar, stretching out both arms as if to stay Neoptolemos (inscribed), and shrinking from the warrior's onslaught. Neoptolemos holds Astyanax headlong by one leg and prepares

to fling grandson against grandfather. Behind the altar stands a massive tripod, and then moving off to right a warrior named Akamas leads away a young woman, inscribed Polyxena. The other side of the cup (PL 72b) shows a Greek warrior named Orsimes about to deal the death blow to a fallen Trojan, whilst Andromache (inscribed) rushes up from the right, brandishing a pestle as weapon; her son Astyanax (inscribed) makes his escape to right. To left of Orsimes, a Trojan woman flees, and beyond her a second Greek warrior, Hyperos (inscribed), finishes off a fallen Trojan. The composition of side A calls to mind that of Oltos' version of the scene (112) (PL 69): Priam on the altar attacked by Neoptolemos with the body of Astyanax, behind Priam a palm tree (=a tripod in this position on the Brygos Painter's cup-) and then a woman led by a warrior whose shield device is a large snake. On Oltos' cup this warrior is named Menelaos, and the woman must be Helen. Were it not for the inscriptions in the Brygos Painter's scene we should also thus identify the warrior and woman there depicted, and at first sight we might be surprised and somewhat confused to read the names of Akamas and Polyxena, for they constitute a unique group in Ilioupersis scenes and one which is nowhere attested in the written sources. However, when we recall that Polyxena was the woman witnessing the murder of her father and nephew on Onesimos' Getty cup (113), then her presence here, turning her head back towards the scene of carnage as she is led away, is more comprehensible. The use by vase-painters of the same or similar iconographical elements and types for different

subjects was not uncommon (see also p 297-9). and so here the group of woman led by warrior does not per se have to be Helen and Menelaos.

It is interesting that the young Astyanax is represented twice on this cup: although he is not named on side A, his appearance there in the grip of Neoptolemos in the scene of the death of Priam is canonical. but were it not for the inscriptions on side B we should not identify the escaping boy as Astyanax. A fleeing boy is not unknown in Ilioupersis scenes, as the figure of the little Askanios testifies (see p 317-21). but the identification here as the young son of Hektor and Andromache is unique in painted Attic pottery. It has sometimes been suggested³⁹ that the Brygos Painter has misplaced his inscription of Astyanax's name, and that it was really intended for the helpless little figure held by Neoptolemos on the other side of the cup. However, this seems improbable, since the woman protecting the boy and providing the distraction and cover which will enable him to run off is named Andromache, Astyanax's mother. Furthermore, the double appearance of Astyanax on this cup makes sense if we view side B as depicting the final battle for Troy in full swing between the Greek and Trojan forces, and side A as taking place some while later when Troy has all but fallen and the last of the Trojan royal family are either taken prisoner (Polyxena) or put to death (Priam and Neoptolemos).

Williams has noted (n 36) that both Onesimos' Berlin-

Vatican tondo (114) and the Brygos Painter's cup show Neoptolemos' shield bearing a lion device, and a similar architectural moulding - Lesbian leaf pattern - on the altar. (This is also true for Onesimos' Getty cup (113), although the lion on Neoptolemos' shield here fells a stag.) He suggests that Onesimos may have influenced the Brygos Painter in the execution of his Louvre Ilioupersis scene. It is also true, furthermore, that the Brygos Painter, like Onesimos (113), included the figure of the pestle-swinging Trojan woman in his composition. As I have pointed out, however, there are also similarities of composition between the Brygos Painter's representation and Oltos' cup. (112) Furthermore, all four cups discussed above stand together iconographically as a group, for the basic schema they bear is the same, with Priam on the altar facing right and Neoptolemos attacking with the body of Astyanax from the right, so that the shield he holds out before him towards Priam creates a central focus in the scene. Fragments of two further cups probably also belong to this group: of one, now in Vienna (116) (PL 71b), survives only the headlong body of Astyanax to left and to right the head and upraised right arm of a woman, whose location, if not her gesture, can be compared to that of the woman to right of the group of Neoptolemos and Astvanax on Oltos' cup. (112) The scene decorated a cup exterior and was painted about 500 BC by the Eleusis Painter, who may have influenced the young Onesimos. The other fragmentary cup, painted about 500-490, was found on the Athenian Akropolis. (117) (PL 73a) The exterior preserves the back leg of Neoptolemos as he lunges to right

and the flailing arms, head and chest of Astyanax (inscribed [ΑΕΤ]ΥΑΝΑ[Σ]) in mid-air: the iconography of the latter is unusual here in that his head is depicted in profile to left, facing towards Neoptolemos. Though the figure of Priam has not survived, there is still to be seen one corner of the blood-stained altar upon which he sat. Directly behind the altar Cassandra crouches at the statue of Athena; this same group of Cassandra, naked but for a himation flung about her shoulders, her head turned back to left and her right arm stretched back towards her attacker, crouched with her left leg bent forwards and right leg underneath her body at the statue of Athena is repeated on Onesimos' Getty cup (113), where even her left arm encircles the statue in the same fashion. Furthermore, the statue's skirt also bears the same running figure motif on both vases. The same iconographical type of Cassandra, the Athena statue and Ajax is also found on the Kleophrades Painter's Vivenzio hydria (123) (PL 76a), and on a fragmentary column-krater by the Tyszkiewicz Painter;⁴⁰ Ajax with his left hand grasps Cassandra by the hair, and draws back his right arm with his sword as he lunges forward with his left leg. Beyond the group of Neoptolemos with the little Astyanax, the fragmentary Akropolis cup (117) continues with Menelaos and Helen, and a dead or dying warrior collapsed to the ground, all of them figures we have already seen brought together in scenes of the death of Priam and Astyanax.

The six cups discussed above (112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117) present us with an iconographical schema in use for the

death of Astyanax between about 510-480. The schema which apparently took over from this about 480 and continued in use for some twenty years, seems to owe more to the black-figure tradition for the death of Astyanax than to the red-figure representations preceding it.⁴¹ Whereas our six red-figure cups show Priam seated on the altar facing right and Neoptolemos attacking with the body of the child from the right, the subsequent red- and earlier black-figure scenes depict Priam lying, seated or crouching on the altar facing left whilst Neoptolemos makes his onslaught with Astyanax from left. The extant black- and red-figure representations which present us with this iconographical schema are found mainly on large vase shapes, in black-figure most commonly on the amphora, and in red-figure on the krater or hydria.

Our earliest surviving red-figure illustration in which the attack of Neoptolemos on Priam with the body of Astyanax takes place from left to right was executed on the shoulder of a hydria, very much as the secondary picture on the vase, by the Painter of the Munich Amphora. (118) (PL 73b) The fourth figure in the scene is a warrior who advances from right.

A much more adventurous composition was attempted about 470-65 BC by the Tyszkiewicz Painter. (119) (PL 74a) Here, around the central group of Priam seated on the blood-stained altar, the back of his hair in the firm grasp of Neoptolemos who raises the body of the Trojan child high

above his head, we see two further Trojan elders; balding and grizzled, with only their staffs as weapons, they rush up from right to try and help their king and to defend themselves against a second young Greek who runs up, sword in hand, from the left. Fleeing from the scene, a Trojan woman turns back her head to view the horrible events, tearing her hair in despair.

The interchange of iconographical figure types and groups between one narrative theme and another by the vase-painters of the Kerameikos is illustrated very well in the work of the Tyszkiewicz Painter. Here he has painted the death of Priam, whilst a few years earlier he had already on two stamnoi employed the same basic group of the older seated man facing left and attacked by a warrior in striding pose for a different subject. On all three vases the victim raises one hand in supplication to his attacker's face and the warrior grasps him firmly with his outstretched left hand. The offensive weapon on the two stamnoi, however, is the sword and the scene is the death of Aigisthos at the hands of Orestes.⁴² The group of seated older man facing left murdered by younger man in striding pose was further used by the Tyszkiewicz Painter for his version of Herakles killing Linos (72) (PL 46a): although the weapon of death is again different, here being a stool, Herakles' attacking pose in raising the stool above his head in his right hand is analogous to that of Neoptolemos threatening Priam with the body of little Astyanax. And as Prag points out,⁴³ the iconographic parallels between the death of Priam and the

murder of Linos are even stronger in the work of the Stieglitz Painter who depicts Linos perching on what closely resembles, even if it is not in actual fact, an altar. (74) (PL 47a) A looser iconographical connection can also be traced to the figure of Telephos seated on the altar, seeking refuge from an imminent attack, a good example of which is seen on the namepiece of the Telephos Painter. (n 143)

The Altamura Painter (120) (PL 74b) combined the double murder of Astyanax and Priam with the rape of Cassandra by Ajax, a combination not uncommon in the work of red-figure vase-painters (112-reverse, 113-above tondo, 117, 121-reverse. 123), though here the group of Ajax and Cassandra is not of the type noted above. (p 295) The Altamura Painter depicts Cassandra sunk to her knees between the statue of Athena to left and Ajax to right. Priam and his daughter stretch out their arms to each other across the bodies of their attackers; with great poignancy their hands almost meet, but not quite. The headlong body of Astyanax above their outstretched hands forms the apex of this doomed family trio, but his perfectly formed figure is too small and doll-like to realise fully the pathetic potential of the composition.

About the same time as the Altamura Painter decorated his kalyx-krater with the death of Astyanax, his younger contemporary, the Niobid Painter, illustrated a volute-krater with his version of the theme. (121) (PL 75a) Like the Altamura Painter, his rendering of the scene is a very

symmetrical one, but whereas the former depicted two counter-balanced and overlapping central groups (Ajax and Cassandra, Neoptolemos and Priam), the Niobid Painter shows the central figure of Neoptolemos attacking from left with Astyanax in his upraised right hand, Priam seated on the altar before him balanced by a little female figure who runs off to left looking back over her shoulder, and a warrior flanking the scene on each side, one in virtual mirror image of the other. Priam, clutching his sceptre in similar fashion to the Altamura Painter's Priam, is presented to us in three-quarter view, his left leg drawn up frontally against the altar in not dissimilar, though milder, fashion to the Brygos Painter's Priam. (115) As on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's column-krater and a pelike in Florence discussed below (122), Neoptolemos grabs Priam by the hair, another point of parallel between the iconographical types used for the death of Priam and murder of Aigisthos.⁴⁴

The Niobid Painter repeats his scene of the death of Priam on a kalyx-krater in Ferrara.⁴⁵ The basic composition is the same, though not identical to that on his Bologna volute-krater: the two figures flanking the scene are now a warrior and a woman, and instead of brandishing the little Astyanax as weapon, Neoptolemos has assumed the more canonical sword. As I shall discuss below, although the death of Priam was an essential element in scenes of the death of Astyanax, the grandson was more or less an optional extra in scenes of the murder of his grandfather. (p 303 & n 50) The young girl carrying a phiale and fleeing to left

is present in both of the Niobid Painter's scenes: she is probably to be interpreted as a Trojan maidservant, or perhaps even a little priestess who had been making libations and offerings in the sanctuary of Zeus in the hope of divine intervention on her city's behalf when Neoptolemos burst in to execute his unholy deed.

A pelike in Florence decorated about 470 BC by a Mannerist painter (122) (PL 75b) presents us once again with the iconographic schema of Neoptolemos on the left about to bludgeon Priam on the right with the body of the little Astyanax. Priam, however, instead of being seated on the altar here stands in front of it, or rather seems to stumble towards it as Neoptolemos grabs him by the hair. As on Oltos' cup (112), the back of Astyanax's head, rather than his face, must have been presented to the viewer.

Our final extant Attic red-figure illustration of the death of Astyanax appears on the renowned Vivenzio hydria. (123) (PL 76) Painted by the Kleophrades Painter about 480 BC, this vase carries a unique interpretation of the theme: the little Trojan prince is not here a human club wielded by Neoptolemos, but instead lies dead on the knees of old Priam who, seated on the altar, covers his already bloodied head with his hands. The murderer's weapon is this time a huge makhaira and the boy's body bears the grisly wounds of its cruel work: this is a means of death for Astyanax which is singular in extant red-figure, but one which had appeared already in black-figure. (n 41, 1) Although Astyanax's

location on the knees of his grandfather is unique, it is interesting to note that if we turn the child's body clockwise through ninety degrees we find that the Kleophrades Painter has essentially depicted the boy in the same pose as that employed by the other painters of the theme where the boy is held headlong by Neoptolemos: his frontal face, limp arms and bent legs most closely recall Onesimos' Astyanax. (113, 114) The double murder of Priam and Astyanax, positioned at the very centre front of the vase, is the main theme and focus of the kalpis frieze, and it is worth noting that as on the series of red-figure cups discussed above (112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117), the Kleophrades Painter presents Priam on the altar attacked by Neoptolemos from the right. Balancing it on either side is a group of a Trojan woman being attacked by, or fighting back against, a Greek warrior; to left of the central group Kassandra is assaulted by Ajax at the statue of Athena, and to right a woman armed with a pestle has succeeded in driving a Greek to his knees. Beyond these two groups, on either side of the kalpis' vertical handle, the frieze is completed by a second juxtaposed pair of themes: the rescue of old Anchises to left and the rescue of the frail Aithra to right.

In such a finely balanced composition, where nearly all the main characters can be easily identified, it seems likely that the woman swinging the pestle against the fallen Greek would also have been a group readily recognisable by a fifth century viewer. Since the equivalent female figure on

the Brygos Painter's cup is named Andromache (115), it may also be she here. Alternatively, she may be Polyxena, since a pestle fallen to the ground in Onesimos' Getty cup tondo (113) was there presumably the property of this heroine.⁴⁶ As for the Greek warrior, since he has dropped to the ground on one knee in an attitude of defeat, he can hardly be one of the great Greek heroes: the Brygos Painter named the figure attacked by Andromache as Orsimes, and on Onesimos' Getty cup the warrior fighting the pestle-wielding woman is Sthenelos. I have already noted (p 293-4) D Williams' suggestion that Onesimos may have influenced the Brygos Painter's Louvre Ilioupersis scene: the same influence may well have been at work on the Kleophrades Painter for he repeats the altar moulding seen on Onesimos' Berlin-Vatican cup (114), and as in both of Onesimos' scenes of the death of Priam and Astyanax (113, 114), on the Vivenzio hydria a warrior lies dead beside the altar. In addition, the Kleophrades Painter employs the same iconography as Onesimos for his group of Cassandra attacked by Ajax at the statue of Athena, and several other of the themes which encircle the Priam tondo on Onesimos' Getty cup also flank the Priam group on the Vivenzio hydria - Trojan woman with pestle battling a Greek warrior, rescue of Aithra by her grandsons.

The picture thus presented to us of the death of Astyanax in Attic red-figure is very homogeneous, with only the Kleophrades Painter providing a little variation on the theme. When names are inscribed in the scenes, there is agreement in the identification of the abused child as

Astyanax (113, 114, 117) and his abuser as Neoptolemos (112, 113). However, when we turn to the literary sources for the tale, we find a different story.⁴⁷ Although Lesches in the Little Iliad named Neoptolemos as the murderer of Astyanax, he was there hurled by the foot not against Priam but from the ramparts of Troy.⁴⁸ Proklos, on the other hand, tells us that in Arktinos' Ilioupersis Astyanax was slaughtered by Odysseus, Priam's death took place at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, and Neoptolemos claimed Andromache as part of the spoils.⁴⁹ The scholiast on Euripides, Andromache 10, tells us that Stesichoros also treated the theme in his Ilioupersis, but we know only that this was not the version later adopted by Euripides in which Astyanax is thrown from the ramparts. Discussion has therefore centred on the possible source of inspiration for the death of Astyanax as treated by the vase-painters, and on the question of the independent development of the ancient literary and graphic traditions. (see n 35)

The deaths of Priam and Astyanax are never linked in the extant literary sources. and yet in vase-painting, whilst the death of Priam was often depicted independently of the death of Astyanax, the latter is only ever represented in conjunction with the former; that is to say, in the iconographical record the death of Astyanax is a secondary and additional theme in scenes of the death of Priam.⁵⁰ The only possible exception is seen on the Brygos Painter's cup (115) (PL 72b), where the boy Astyanax, protected by his mother, flees to right from the scene of

battle, but even here he reappears on the other side of the cup (PL 72a) as the human missile raised by Neoptolemos against Priam.

Clearly, the vase-painters were following neither of the literary versions of the story which have come down to us today, although they include elements of both versions in their pictures: Neoptolemos, as in Lesches, is the killer and Priam is slain at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, as in Arktinos. It is possible that the vase-painters were following Stesichoros' now lost account, and there may also have been other accounts of which not even the faintest trace survives; one of these may have combined the deaths of Priam and Astyanax. But given this multiplicity of versions of the death of Astyanax in the mythological corpus, it is unlikely that the vase-painters would have exclusively followed any one particular account. As Toucheteu, Dugas and others have proposed (see n 35), it is more likely that the iconography developed in a parallel but distinct manner from the literature; both were seeking to tell essentially the same story, that is the destruction of Troy which included the slaughter of the oldest and youngest members of its royal line, but the inherently different characteristics of the written and the pictorial media, combined probably with the vase-painters' familiarity with the oral mythological traditions, resulted in divergent ways of presenting that story. The limitations of the narrative graphic form in terms of expressing chronology or the passage of time could lead to the juxtaposition and

combination of otherwise distinct events. Pausanias, in his description of Polygnotos' painting of the Ilioupersis in the Lesche of the Knidians at Lelphi, (n 48) attempts to identify the figures by recourse to Arktinos, Lesches and Stesichoros, and apparently finds no contradiction in moving freely from one to another. Perhaps this passage, written at a time when the early Greek sources were far better preserved and known than they are today, provides further confirmation that the ancient graphic and literary traditions often followed their own parallel but independent paths.

After 460 BC we have no red-figure pictures of the death of Astyanax: indeed, in the second half of the fifth century the Ilioupersis in general diminishes in popularity with the vase-painters. Polygnotos' use of the subject for the decoration of the Lesche of the Knidians, including a group of Andromache with the boy Astyanax (n 51), and Euripides' 415 BC production of his Trojan Women, which featured the little Trojan prince both before and after his brutal death at the hands of the Greeks, apparently occasioned no revival of the death of Astyanax in red-figure.

There is one unusual vase, however, which may indirectly reflect the influence of these works of Polygnotos and Euripides. This is a very fine volute-krater from Spina, probably of Attic workmanship, though possibly Italiote, and dating to about 400-390. (124) The picture

decorating one side of the body (PL 7/a) shows the central figure of the Palladion, with Cassandra attacked by Ajax to left, and Priam on the altar slain by Neoptolemos to right. We have seen this combination of themes already several times (112, 113, 117, 120, 121, 123), but here the treatment is different, as one might expect on a vase painted so many years later: Neoptolemos slays Priam with his sword, and taking refuge on the steps of the Palladion sits a woman holding a child which, naked except for a string of amulets around its body and bracelets at ankle and wrist, stretches out its arms towards Priam. (PL 77b) Situated in such a prominent position between Cassandra and Priam, the woman and child can hardly be an anonymous group, and their most likely identification is as Andromache and Astyanax. Beyond Neoptolemos another Trojan woman flees to right and beyond Ajax a corresponding fleeing woman escapes to left clutching a baby. There is certainly no suggestion of direct influence from Polygnotos' wall-painting or Euripides' play on the vase-painting, but the emphasis in the scene on the plight of the Trojan women and children accords with the spirit of Polygnotos' and Euripides' creations.⁵¹

For most of the vase-painters, Astyanax is apparently still alive when he is hurled against Priam. Only on the Brygos Painter's cup (115), where his eyes are closed in death, and on the Kleophrades Painter's hydria (123), where he lies inert and bloody on Priam's knee, can we be sure that he is already dead. On the Eleusis Painter's fragment (116), the Akropolis cup (117) and the Tyszkiewicz Painter's

krater (119), the boy is drawn in profile to right or left, with open eye, and is probably to be thought of as still alive, although it is true that the dead boy's eyes are also open on the Kleophrades Painter's vase. Onesimos (113, 114) and the Altamura (120) and Niobid (121) painters depict Astyanax with a full-frontal face - as does the Kleophrades Painter - which is intended to shock the viewer and emphasise the extraordinary and horrible fate of the child.⁵² But the frontal face alone does not necessarily imply death: the child's eyes are open, and more significantly on Onesimos' Berlin-Vatican cup (114) he seems to grasp a broken stick in one hand, an action which requires vitality.

The preserved literary sources and the vase-paintings agree in depicting Astyanax as a child. His more precise age varies depending on which ancient source we consult; in the Iliad, for example, he is still a babe in arms whilst in Euripides' Trojan Women, though still a little boy, he is old enough to hold sensible conversation.⁵³ In preserved Attic red-figure, with the exception of the fourth century volute-krater (124) where he is probably the baby held by the woman seated on the statue base, Astyanax is always depicted as a naked boy with well-developed physique and a mop of curly locks.

Troilos

When we turn to Troilos, youngest son of Priam, we find that the question of his age is a far more thorny problem than that of Astyanax. In the sparse literary sources,⁵⁴ Troilos is usually a youth when he is murdered by Achilles in or near the sanctuary of Thymbraion Apollo, and Sophokles characterises him as "ἀνδρόπαις", which would imply that he was on the verge of manhood.⁵⁵ The First Vatican Mythographer records that there was a prophecy that Troy could not be taken if Troilos should reach the age of twenty.⁵⁶ Another version of the myth, attested mainly by later written sources, presents Troilos as a young warrior in combat when he was killed by Achilles.⁵⁷

The representations in Attic vase-painting of the death, and the events leading up to the death, of Troilos break down into three groups:⁵⁸ Achilles lying in wait at the spring or fountain house for Troilos and Polyxena, Troilos on horseback pursued by Achilles, and Troilos slain by Achilles at the altar of Apollo.⁵⁹ Representations of these themes span the years between about 575 and 440, and are far more popular in black- than in red-figure: a vase shape very frequently decorated with the tale is the hydria which, given its connections to the story, is not surprising.

The most popular episode of the Troilos adventure in both black- and red-figure is his flight on horseback from

Achilles. Troilos' appearance on these vases generally agrees with what we know of his mythology from the written sources: he frequently bears a strong resemblance to the mortal youthful ephebe figure so popular in Attic vase-painting and, naked or semi-naked, sometimes clutches a pair of spears.⁶⁰ Often he is depicted as a young, clean-shaven man carrying spears, and several times appears in stature and age to be more or less the equal of Achilles.⁶¹

Scenes of the lying in wait for Troilos by Achilles occur frequently in black-figure between 570-480. but virtually disappear in red-figure. Troilos' appearance in this episode is much the same as in the representations of his flight from Achilles, that is to say as a youth or young man, usually on horseback. and carrying a pair of spears.

The death of Troilos is the moment least frequently depicted in surviving black-figure, where it occurs certainly seven times between about 570-490:-

- i. Hydria, Lisbon, private collection Vinhas, Leagros Group, ca 520-10. ABV 362.26: Para 161: LIMC I, Achilleus 362.
- ii. Lekythos, Copenhagen, Nat Mus Chr VIII.383, ca 500-490. LIMC I, Achilleus 361, pl 93.
- iii. Lekythos, Athens, Nat Mus 1046 (CC 901), Class of Athens 581, ca 500. ABV 492.74: LIMC I, Achilleus 359; II, Astyanax I, 31.
- iv. Tyrrhenian amphora, Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst 1426, Timiades Painter, ca 570. ABV 95.5: Para 36:

Add 25: LIMC I, Achilleus 364, pl 94.

v. Tyrrhenian amphora, Florence, Mus Archeol 70993,

Prometheus Painter, ca 570. ABV 95.6: Para 36: Add 25:
LIMC I, Achilleus 360, pl 93.

vi. Band cup, Basle, private collection, ca 560. LIMC I,
Achilleus 359a, pl 93.

vii. Hydria, London, BM B326, Leagros Group, ca 510. ABV
362.28: Add 96: LIMC I, Achilleus 363, pl 93.

There is no single iconographic formula for depicting the death of Troilos; he may still be alive - about to be speared by Achilles (i), held headlong by one foot by Achilles and about to be hurled against a Trojan warrior (ii & iii) - or is already dead and has been decapitated. (iv, v, vi, vii) The use on ii and iii of the motif of a little figure held upside down by a warrior, and the existence of two further black-figure vases which may or may not also show the death of Troilos (n 67 & 68), have led to discussions of the apparent confusion of the iconography in use for scenes of the deaths of Troilos and of Astyanax; I discuss this below. (p 314-16)

The death of Troilos occurs certainly only three times in extant Attic red-figure, and each picture shows a different version of the Trojan prince's death. All three vases are cups and belong to the years between about 520-490. The earliest, a cup painted by Oltos about 520-10, shows Troilos (inscribed) as an armed warrior in combat against Achilles, whilst Aineias (inscribed) rushes up from the right to give aid.⁶² This vase, along with a black-

figure hydria which presents Troilos as a bearded horseman chased by Achilles, attests the early origin of the version of the myth according to which Troilos dies as a warrior in battle at the hands of Achilles, a version preserved only much later in the written sources.⁶³ The second red-figure cup with the death of Troilos was decorated by Makron about 490 BC, and shows Troilos as a youth or young man still astride his fallen horse as he is slaughtered by the great Greek hero.⁶⁴ It is really a variant of the black- and red-figure scenes which show Achilles pursuing his mounted prey, but it is a masterly piece of experimentation, not only in the adaptation of the iconography, but also in Makron's attempts to depict the horse fallen askew with its back legs beneath it and Troilos' twisted pose as he falls from his steed under Achilles' onslaught. The tree in the background may represent the sanctuary of Apollo.

The third cup, dating to about 490 BC, is the work of Onesimos,⁶⁵ and like his two Astyanax cups was signed also by Euphronios as potter. (113, 114) The tondo depicts Achilles (inscribed), fully armed, grasping Troilos (inscribed) by the hair, and raising his sword high above his head in preparation for the fatal blow. (PL 78a) Troilos is presented as a slight, defenceless, boyish figure in a short chiton, who tries to wrench himself free of the warrior's clutches. The setting is clearly the sanctuary of Apollo, for on top of the blood-stained altar lies a laurel branch. This setting is also repeated on the main face of the cup exterior, with the addition of a large tripod and

two palm trees. (PL 78b) The event depicted here, Achilles dragging Troilos (inscribed) from his horses in the direction of the altar, precedes that taking place in the tondo. And yet, whilst Achilles' appearance is more or less the same in both scenes, the Troilos of the exterior picture is much larger in stature than the boyish figure of the tondo and, although unarmed, he looks scarcely the junior of Achilles and can most closely be compared to the young warriors arming on the reverse of the cup. (PL 78c)

Why the discrepancy in Troilos' double appearance on the same vase? Onesimos' Theseus cup discussed in chapter 3 (p 217f & n 163) (PL 56) presented us with the same problem; whilst in the tondo picture Theseus, on his underwater visit to Amphitrite, looks very boyish, in the exterior scenes he is presented as a young man. There I have suggested that our first visual impressions of the tondo Theseus as a boy are misleading, and that on closer examination there are grounds for interpreting the figure not as a child but as a young man in the very earliest phase of manhood, and have further proposed that Onesimos' stress on the youth of Theseus is intended to emphasise his role as the son seeking the recognition of his stepmother. Might not Onesimos again on his Troilos cup have deliberately stressed the Trojan's youthful aspect in the tondo scene depicting his slaughter, in order to exploit the dramatic and pathetic potential of his composition? Troilos' death, as Kallimachos attests (frag 363), was held to be an example of "αῶρος θάνατος", and Onesimos' tondo picture leaves us in no doubt of that.

When we turn to black-figure representations of Troilos, we find that while he is generally depicted as an older youth when he accompanies Polyxena to the spring or is pursued by Achilles, in scenes of his death he appears as a more diminutive figure being held upside down by Achilles (p 309 - ii, iii, vi) or standing on the altar (i). This, however, is probably rather a result of the pose employed for him and the restrictions of the space available than it is any indication of his age. Furthermore, as I discuss below, in the use of the motif for Troilos of a small figure hurled by a warrior over his shoulder, there may be influence from scenes of the death of Astyanax.

Much of the evidence from the ancient literary sources and in vase-painting suggests that Troilos, like Theseus on the occasion of his visit to Amphitrite, was characterised as a youth on the interface of late adolescence with manhood; Sophokles' labelling of him as "ἄνδρόπαις", implying that he was on the verge of manhood, is our clearest example of this. Troilos has therefore gone beyond being a "child", as I have defined that term in my introduction, and thus I do not include him in my catalogue of representations of children. However, I again venture to suggest that there was no iconographical type for the late adolescent figure in vase-painting, and that Troilos, who like Theseus had reached this life stage, could therefore be depicted by Onesimos both in the guise of a young man and of a boy, surely the two faces of late adolescence.

Though it is mainly an issue which concerns black- rather than red-figure vase-painting, I think it is worth pausing briefly here to note the links between the iconography of the deaths of the two Trojan princes, Troilos and Astyanax. The motif of a small figure held upside down by a warrior is used primarily for black- and red-figure depictions of the death of Astyanax and, though it occurs less frequently in the Troilos iconography, finds its earliest expression in extant vase-painting for this theme.⁶⁶ But whilst the motif when used in scenes of the death of Astyanax is combined with the death of Priam on the altar of Zeus, it stands independently when used to represent the death of Troilos at the altar of Apollo. However, the existence of two Attic black-figure vases with a warrior about to hurl a youth headlong against an altar whilst an old man looks on, has provoked much discussion about the possible confusion of the Troilos-Astyanax iconography.

The earlier of these two representations is found on a lekanis lid by the C Painter and dates to about 570-60;⁶⁷ this shows the warrior running with the youth towards the altar from the right, followed by an advancing procession of cavalry and infantry, while standing on the other side of the altar are an old man and a woman who make gestures of supplication in the direction of the running warrior. The later vase is a hydria, decorated about 520-10 by a painter of the Leagros Group,⁶⁸ and shows a warrior about to dash a youth against an altar on which stands a tripod. Behind the

warrior a white-haired old man crouches on the ground, and beyond him stands Athena, whilst horses and soldiers issue forth from the city gate. Since the old man on the C Painter's lekanis lid, although not seated on the altar, could still be thought of as being threatened by the warrior advancing towards him brandishing the headlong youth over his shoulder, this picture could depict the death of Astyanax. It could equally concern the death of Troilos. The Munich hydria, however, to my mind more certainly depicts the Troilos story; the old man, if he be Priam, is not threatened by the warrior and the scene presents only one death, that of the youth. As Mota has suggested, the old man might be Troilos' paidagogos rather than his father,⁶⁹ and the setting of the sanctuary outside the city wall also agrees with Dio Chrysostom's description of the Thymbraion.⁷⁰

The interchange of iconography between scenes of the deaths of Troilos and Astyanax flows in both directions. The motif of the youth held upside down over an altar by a warrior who is about to kill him appears first in the Troilos theme (n 66), and thence appears to be taken up in the Astyanax narrative (n 41, i). Thereafter, the schema of the youth about to be hurled headlong by one foot over the shoulder of the warrior apparently develops first in the Astyanax iconography (n 41 - iii, iv, v), and passes later into the Troilos illustrations. A transitional phase between the figure held upside down in front of the warrior and later headlong over his shoulder may be represented by

an amphora by Lydos (n 41, ii), which shows the warrior threatening Priam with Astyanax's body which he swings by his side. However, it is also the case that already by about 570 the Troilos iconography had developed the motif of Achilles about to launch Troilos's decapitated head over his shoulder in the direction of the altar (p 310 - v, vi, vii), and the common Astyanax motif of the whole body hurled over the shoulder may have developed out of this. Certainly the schema of the decapitated head used as a missile passed from the Troilos theme into the Astyanax-Priam iconography. (n 41, viii) It is, furthermore, possible that the presence of the palm tree (112, 123) or tripod (115) in scenes of the death of Astyanax reflects influence from the Troilos theme. But the repetition of the palm tree (112) or tripods (113) in the Ajax-Athena-Kassandra group makes this seem less likely.

Wiencke makes the suggestion that the apparent confusion between the Troilos and Astyanax legends in black-figure may be a reflection of the epic form still at that time existing as a developing medium, in which many variations upon a single theme found expression. Whilst the black-figure vase-painters may have interwoven many of these strands, by the time of the red-figure artists the epic was dying out as a living form and, Wiencke believes, the canonisation of those epics already in existence is reflected in the standardisation of painted depictions of the Astyanax and Troilos themes.

A small amphora decorated about 460-50 BC by the Alkimachos Painter depicts an armed warrior marching to right, looking back over his shoulder and in his right hand brutally carrying a small, naked child by the hair. The child is dead, its eyes closed.⁷¹ Such an unusual subject is unlikely to comprise a genre scene, and the most likely mythological interpretation, especially since the warrior is apparently a Greek, is an episode from the Ilioupersis. However, the iconography does not accord with that known for Astyanax nor is the group of warrior and child recognisable from any literary account of the sack of Troy, and the pair must therefore remain anonymous. The child's frontal face and attitude again emphasise the horror of the situation.

Askanios

The boy Askanios appears in Attic vase-painting in the company of his father, Aineias, and his grandfather, Anchises, on the occasion of their flight from Troy.⁷² The Augustan Tabula Iliaca Capitolina, which also depicts this moment, labelling the figures with their names, attests in a further inscription that Stesichoros in his Ilioupersis related the tale of their escape from the doomed city.⁷³ The story was later recounted by Dionysius Halicarnassus, Strabo and Vergil.⁷⁴

The flight of Aineias and Anchises, with or without Askanios, is essentially a black- rather than a red-figure theme.⁷⁵ These black-figure scenes, often decorating amphorae, date to the last quarter of the sixth century and usually employ the same iconographic schema: Aineias, generally armed, moves to right carrying old Anchises on his back. Accompanying this central group may be Askanios, a hoplite, an archer or a woman, or varying combinations of these figures. Aineias' escape from Troy with Anchises is a common theme in black-figure, but Askanios' presence here, like Astyanax in scenes of the death of Priam, is an optional or additional, rather than an essential, element of the composition. Where he does appear he is usually depicted as a small naked boy, running beside his father. Sometimes two such boys are shown, and the second boy will then be another of Aineias' sons.

When we turn to extant Attic red-figure vase-painting we find a very marked decline in the popularity of the Aineias and Anchises story: only four red-figure vases, and a further white-ground lekythos - all dating to the first half of the fifth century - illustrate the theme, and of these scenes only one includes Askanios.⁷⁶ These red-figure scenes continue to use more or less the same iconographic schema that had been employed for the subject in black-figure: Aineias escaping hastily with his father on his back. The white-ground lekythos, however, shows Aineias leading away the frail old man by the arm. The old man escaping on his own two feet, but supported by his son, is

also the schema used later for one of the Parthenon metopes, and here furthermore the little Askanios reappears.⁷⁷

Our single assured Attic red-figure depiction of Askanios occurs on the Kleophrades Painter's Vivenzio hydria, decorated about 480 BC. (123) (PL 76a) The group of grandfather, father and son is situated at the left edge of the shoulder frieze, next to the vertical handle, and as they flee to left all three look back at the scenes of carnage and the sack of Troy. As usual, the armed Aineias transports his father on his back, but we see the warrior in three-quarter back view, his face obscured by the old man's arm around his neck. The Kleophrades Painter nicely characterises Anchises' advanced years; the bald pate and stubbly hair and beard of the old man contrast with the luxuriant locks of his little grandson. The same is true of the group of Priam and Astyanax in the centre of the same composition: the painter has twice used the combination of youth and old age to emphasise the vulnerability of the Trojan victims. Young Askanios here wears a himation, one shoulder exposed, a form of dress he had sometimes already adopted in black-figure.⁷⁸

Although this is our only assured representation of the boy Askanios in Attic red-figure, he appears in similar fashion with the escaping Aineias and Anchises a decade or two later on an Etruscan red-figure amphora.⁷⁹ Indeed, it is interesting to note that most of the painted vases depicting the flight of Aineias and Anchises were found in

Italy, particularly Etruria, which may possibly indicate an already early connection of the myth with Italy, whence Aeneias was later said to have fled and founded Rome.⁸⁰ However, considering what a high proportion of Attic painted vases, depicting a very wide variety of subjects, have come to light in Italy, this hypothesis seems less likely.

A second possible Attic red-figure representation of the child Askanios is found on a cup painted about 470-60 BC by the Telephos Painter. (125) (PL 79a) The tondo shows a man running speedily to right, looking back over his shoulder: he is naked except for a himation which, draped over his left arm, flies out behind him. On his shoulders is a naked boy with bracelets at wrist and ankles, who looks out at us with his frontal face. Beazley suggested this might be Orestes rescued by the paidagogos, but for reasons I discuss below I think this is unlikely. (see p 359-60) The subjects decorating the exterior of the cup are the death of Priam, and Ajax and Cassandra; so it is reasonable to propose that the tondo scene may also be drawn from the Ilioupersis. Prag suggests that the Telephos Painter has depicted Anchises carrying away Askanios,⁸¹ and certainly the flight of Anchises, Askanios and Aeneias is elsewhere combined with Priam's death and Ajax and Cassandra; the Kleophrades Painter's Vivenzio hydria (123) is a good example of this, and the Altamura Painter's Boston kalyx-krater (120) presents the same combination of figures but minus Askanios. The sparse whiskers on the face of the Telephos Painter's fleeing man may indicate the figure's

advanced years, and an old man leading a boy away from the sack of Troy is also to be seen on a Lukanian red-figure volute-krater in the British Museum.⁸² But even here we cannot be sure that the pair are Askanios and Anchises, and the Telephos Painter's composition is very distinct from the standard Attic iconography for the flight of Aineias, Anchises and Askanios. As I noted above, Askanios' presence in these scenes is an optional, rather than an essential, element and since in the cup tondo the boy perched on the man's shoulders constitutes the central focus, the likelihood of his being Askanios diminishes.

A further possible interpretation of this scene is provided by the story of Orion. Oinopion, king of Chios, blinded the giant Orion as a punishment for violating the king's daughter, Merope. Advised by an oracle that he should regain his sight if he exposed his eyes to the rays of the rising sun, Orion snatched up a boy from the smithy of Hephaistos and, setting him on his shoulders, bade him guide him to the sunrise. The tale, related by Apollodoros, had earlier been told by Pherekydes.⁸³ However, the Telephos Painter's running man, with his bony face and sparse whiskers hardly appears to be giant material, nor with his wide open eye does he seem to be blind.⁸⁴

In conclusion then, it is probably best for the present to interpret the Telephos Painter's tondo as an old man, or possibly a slave, fleeing perhaps the sack of Troy with a child on his shoulders. That the boy is Askanios is less

likely, but I include the vase in my catalogue here in the absence of a more appropriate explanation.

Ganymede (& Paris)

Ganymede, perhaps with the exception of Tithonos (see p 335-9), is the most frequently depicted mythological boy in Attic red-figure vase-painting, appearing certainly some forty-two times in the preserved corpus of vases. The representations span almost the whole duration of the Attic red-figure style from about 520-370, though the subject is most popular in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods: Ganymede completely disappears from the iconographical record between about 440-410 and when he does reappear in the late fifth and early fourth century is no longer the focus of the painted scenes, but merely an onlooker in someone else's story. The subject has been discussed at length several times elsewhere, and since I do not wish simply to repeat the same material and arguments here, my catalogue comprises only those vase-paintings in which the boy Ganymede can be certainly identified: there exist many more scenes in which the identification of a boy figure as Ganymede remains dubious.⁸⁵

The most popular Ganymede theme depicted in Attic red-

figure is Zeus' pursuit of the boy. (126-153) Whilst Homer in the Iliad tells us that the gods took this son of Tros to be cupbearer to Zeus because the boy was so beautiful, the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite relates that Zeus himself carried off Ganymede, again because of his beauty, to be the wine-pourer of the gods.⁸⁶ The myth is represented in vase-painting between 490-50, a period during which pursuit scenes in general were much in vogue in Attic vase-painting.⁸⁷ The Ganymede theme is most frequently seen on the neck-amphora, particularly the Nolan variety - a shape commonly used for pursuit scenes generally - and the lekythos and pelike are also favoured. Many more vases than I list in my catalogue show a man chasing a boy, but we can be sure of their interpretation as Zeus and Ganymede only where we have inscriptions naming one or both of the figures (131-PL 81, 146-PL 84b, 149), or where the man is identified as Zeus by an attribute which is usually his sceptre, but may occasionally be the thunderbolt. (144-PL 83, 148-PL 85a) Nearly always Ganymede flees to right, turning back his head to look at his divine pursuer: occasionally the chase is to left. (132, 146, 150) Zeus may already be accosting the boy as, for example, on the beautiful cup tondo of about 460-50 by the Penthesilea Painter (148), or, stretching out his arms to Ganymede as he runs, may not yet have caught him as, for example, we see on the Brygos Painter's kantharos painted about 490-80. (129) (PL 80a) Sometimes Zeus is fully clothed (131, 135, 137, 143, 147), but more commonly he is only partially draped; most frequently he wears his himation looped loosely over both arms, thus revealing more

or less his whole body. (for example, 128-PL 84a, 138, 139, 148) Ganymede may be naked (for example, 126-PL 79b, 128, 144, 145, 151-PL 85b), may be semi-naked and attired in similar fashion to Zeus with his himation draped only over one or both arms (for example, 134, 138, 146, 148), or may be more substantially wrapped in and covered by his himation. (for example, 133-PL 82a, 135) He may carry a hoop and stick (for example, 129, 133, 143, 144, 145, 151), or a cock (for example, 138, 139, 148, 150), occasionally has both (for example, 126, 140-PL 80b, 147), or may have no attributes at all. (for example, 131) Once on the Tyszkiewicz Painter's Orvieto neck-amphora (128), he carries a situla, perhaps a reference to his future role as cupbearer.

Most commonly, scenes of the pursuit of Ganymede by Zeus are composed only of the two main figures who, as on the Berlin Painter's famous bell-krater (126) (PL 79b), are placed on opposite sides of the vase. Rarely is the composition fuller. On the Getty cup by Douris (131) (PL 81), Zeus accosts Ganymede, whilst the boy's young companion flees with hoop and stick, and two bearded draped men flank the scene and look on. This scene decorates one exterior face of the cup and may anticipate the tondo picture, where a bearded draped man with a stick seated before an altar and receiving a libation from a boy might be Zeus with his cupbearer Ganymede. A second pursuit scene, that of Kephalos by Eos, decorates the other side of the cup. (PL 96) The fullest composition treating the Zeus and Ganymede

pursuit was painted about 470-60 on a pelike by Hermonax (140) (PL 80b): here the theme is extended to both sides of the vase, with the obverse showing Zeus seizing Ganymede whilst two playmates make off, one still clutching his spinning top and whip. The reverse shows four further young companions running towards a white-haired and bearded old man who holds a sceptre; this must be Ganymede's father, Tros. Tros may also appear on two further vases, again on the reverse of the vessel away from the main pursuit scene: he is almost certainly the balding old man on the Briseis Painter's Nolan amphora (134), and may also be the bearded man with staff on the Achilles Painter's pelike. (144) Other painters, too, show a relation of theme between the main Zeus-Ganymede scene on the obverse of the vase and the secondary subject on the reverse: the Pan (133) and Providence (150) painters depict a fleeing boy, and the Tyszkiewicz Painter (128) and an artist of the Schifanoia Group (135) present an erotic theme of homosexual pursuit or courting.

Our latest vase depicting the Zeus-Ganymede pursuit, a column-krater of about 450 by the Ariana Painter (151) (PL 85b), is exceptional for its inclusion of divine bystanders, namely Hermes and a woman who, gesticulating in the direction of the Eros who hovers with phiale and oinochoe behind Zeus, is perhaps Aphrodite. Eros also features on the Oreithyia Painter's lekythos (136), and these two scenes give credence to the hypothesis that the love motive for Zeus' abduction of Ganymede, was current in the fifth

century. Though in Homer Ganymede is taken up to Olympos on account of his beauty, Ibykos and other sixth century sources make reference to the erotic purpose of his kidnap.⁸⁸ The frequent possession of the cock by Ganymede in red-figure scenes, a common love gift between an erastes and his eromenos, also hints at the erotic theme.

A vase which also takes its place amongst those with pursuit scenes of Ganymede is an amphora of about 470-60 by the Alkimachos Painter. (153) On one side a naked boy with hoop and stick flees to left followed by the running Hermes. (PL 86a) The interpretation of this scene is, of itself, uncertain, but the boy's identification as Ganymede seems confirmed by the picture on the other side of the vase. There we see a stationary Hermes facing another naked boy who holds a sceptre. (PL 86b) The latter must be a prince, and with Ganymede in mind as the fleeing boy with hoop and stick, Paris presents himself as a likely candidate.⁸⁹ A Trojan theme would then unite both sides of the amphora; Hermes' meeting with Paris foreshadows the latter's fatal judgement, and though the literary sources make no reference to Hermes as procurer of Ganymede for Zeus, they do mention Hermes' involvement in the Ganymede story as bringer of comfort and compensation to Tros on behalf of Zeus for the loss of his son.⁹⁰ The Alkimachos Painter provides us here with our only (more or less) certain example both of Ganymede pursued by Hermes and of Paris as a boy.

A stannos of the same date by Hermonax (141) also

depicts Hermes chasing a boy who may be Ganymede, given that the other side of the vase shows Zeus pursuing Ganymede. The boy shown by Hermes how to spin a top on a cup of about 490-80 BC by Douris,⁹¹ may perhaps be Ganymede or, less specifically, the boy's youthful presence may simply refer to Hermes' role as the guardian of children generally. (see ch 1, n 38) Paris may be the youth with a lyre who appears in Hermes' company on an amphora by the Sabouroff Painter, or the youth with lyre chased by Hermes on an amphora by the Oionokles Painter or seized by Hermes on a cup by the Penthesilea Painter, the latter bearing a composition similar to the same painter's cup tondo showing Zeus accosting Ganymede.⁹²(148) However, although the lyre is often an attribute of Paris,⁹³ the interpretation of these scenes remains uncertain.

Ganymede may perhaps occasionally have been depicted alone. This may have been the case on the Penthesilea Painter's white-ground bobbin of about 460-50 BC, which was found in a young boy's grave in the Kerameikos cemetery. (149) The bobbin is fragmentary, but there remain parts of a running boy figure with an inscription naming him as Ganymede. The other side of the bobbin is lost, but one suspects that Zeus may well have been represented here, and that Ganymede would not really therefore have been an isolated figure. Vases which depict a single figure of a boy running with hoop and stick, and/or cock, like the Pan Painter's well-known oinochoe in New York,⁹⁴ (PL 82b) may well present us with Ganymede. In light of this painter's

very similar boy figure chased by Zeus on his Nolan amphora in Boston, and who there is without doubt Ganymede, (133) (PL 82a) I am inclined to think that the oinochoe boy is also Ganymede. But, lacking any inscriptions for this or any other such isolated boy figure, the identification as Ganymede remains inconclusive.

The tondo of a cup painted by Douris about 490-80 BC may illustrate a moment subsequent to the pursuit of Ganymede by Zeus. (154) (PL 87a) Zeus (inscribed) runs to left, looking back over his shoulder, and carries in his arms a sleeping boy who is wrapped in a himation. The slumbering figure's identity has provoked discussion over many years: its very sex has been disputed, with some scholars proposing female gender,⁹⁵ although the absence of any garment beneath the himation militates against this. The long-haired youth has no attributes and both his somnolent state and his location wholly in the arms of Zeus do not fit in with the preserved iconography for Ganymede. Our closest parallel is the terracotta statue group of about 470 BC from Olympia which shows a boy carried under one arm by a bearded man.⁹⁶ But the child here is awake, is naked and carries a cock, and though this is most likely Zeus and Ganymede, we cannot be absolutely certain since the man carries a short stick and not a sceptre. But Zeus with his sceptre and inscribed name on the Douris cup is unmistakable, and the courting scenes on the exterior of the cup provide a clear erotic theme for the vase. There seems therefore to be no better explanation of the tondo picture

than as Zeus and Ganymede, and so I include it in my catalogue of representations of this theme.

Another cup of the same date by the Castelgiorgio Painter also seems to have depicted the abduction of a boy.⁹⁷ (PL 87b) The single surviving fragment shows a bearded draped man facing left and carrying a naked boy who stretches out his arms to right. Only the heads and upper torsos of the two figures remain, but it seems that the man is moving at some speed and that the boy is trying to escape his grasp. This could be Zeus and Ganymede, and the boy's blond hair in dilute glaze recalls the "golden-haired Ganymedes" of the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, (line 202) a feature also possessed by the Berlin Painter's Ganymede. (126) (PL 79b) However, as so little of the Castelgiorgio Painter's cup is left to us and since we know of no indisputable or established iconographic type for Zeus carrying off Ganymede, the subject decorating the cup fragment remains uncertain.

A less popular iconographic theme than the pursuit of Ganymede, but one which is depicted in Attic red-figure over a longer period, from about 520-440, is Ganymede as divine cupbearer. (155-164) He may be Zeus' own special cupbearer and appear alone with him (162-164), or he may officiate more generally in a larger divine gathering as cupbearer of the gods. (155-161) Sometimes Zeus is absent from the Olympian company and Ganymede's particular attention is transferred to Apollo. (159-161) As cupbearer, Ganymede may

be naked (155, 156, 158, 159, 163) or draped in a himation (157, 160, 161, 162, 164), and holds his instrument of office, the oinochoe. Once he also clutches hoop and stick. (161)

Our earliest vase depicting Ganymede as cupbearer, and indeed in any context - black- or red-figure - is the famous cup decorated by Oltes near the end of the sixth century. (155) (PL 88a) Here Ganymede ministers directly to Zeus, but in the company of Hestia, Athena, Aphrodite, Ares, Hermes and Hebe; all figures are inscribed with their names. A decade or two later Douris painted a similar scene, in which Ganymede prepares to pour wine for Zeus and Hera in the presence of Poseidon, Amphitrite and Dionysos: other attendant gods have been lost due to the very fragmentary state of the cup. (156) (PL 89) Around the same date, the Castelgiorgio Painter depicted Ganymede as divine cupbearer but in a somewhat different composition. (157) (PL 88b) The scene, decorating one exterior face of a cup, is a more or less symmetrical one; in the centre stands the armed Ares with, to left, Zeus waited upon by Ganymede and, to right, Hera served wine by Iris. Later on, about 440, from the hand of the Kodros Painter comes a symposium scene, a theme so familiar to us as a red-figure genre subject, but here transposed into the divine realm. (158) (PL 90) On the obverse of the cup (PL 90a), Zeus and Poseidon recline holding phialai, whilst Hera and Amphitrite perch on the foot of their respective couches. Standing by, in the role of servant boy, is Ganymede. These four scenes, comprising

our evidence for Ganymede as cupbearer to the Olympians where he devotes his special attention to Zeus, are all very appropriately painted on cups.

From around the middle of the fifth century come three vases which again present Ganymede in the role of cupbearer to the gods, but in a gathering which omits Zeus and in which Apollo is singled out for the boy's special services. (159-161) A kalpis of about 450 by the Nausikaa Painter shows the seated Apollo receiving a libation from Ganymede, whilst Hermes, Artemis and probably Leto look on. (159) (PL 91a) A fragmentary cylindroid stand of the same date by the Villa Giulia Painter again shows Ganymede and Apollo in the same company, with the addition also of Dionysos. (160) (PL 92a) And a decade or so later an artist in the group of Polygnotos decorated a bell-krater with Ganymede as cupbearer to Apollo in the same divine gathering, though once more without Dionysos. (161) (PL 91b)

Ganymede as Zeus' own special attendant and depicted alone with him, appears about 490 BC on a pelike by the Geras Painter (162) (PL 92b), on a kalyx-krater of about 490-80 by the Eucharides Painter (163) (PL 93a), and a decade or so later on a pelike by the Syleus Painter. (164) (PL 93b) On all three vases, the seated Zeus holds out a phiale to the standing Ganymede who fills it with wine from an oinochoe: on 162, Zeus faces to left, while on 163 and 164 he faces to right. The Geras and Eucharides painters' Zeus is a much more regal figure than that depicted by the

Syleus Painter: while the latter represents Zeus seated on a simple stool holding a plain sceptre, the Geras Painter shows him resting on a klismos and grasping his eagle-topped sceptre and thunderbolt in one hand, and the Eucharides Painter positions him on a finely carved and decorated stool covered by a spotted skin and gives him a knotted staff on which his eagle perches. On the latter vase, Ganymede is naked, but on 162 and 164 is draped in a himation.

The subject may again be depicted in the tondo of Douris' Getty cup (131), but since the seated bearded man here holds only a staff we cannot be sure. Another possible illustration of the theme is found on a Nolan amphora painted in the manner of the Achilles Painter about 460-50 BC: on the obverse of the vase Zeus moves quickly to right holding sceptre and thunderbolt whilst the reverse shows a draped boy who holds out a phiale.⁹⁸ However, since the subjects of the two sides of the vase are not necessarily related and as the iconography anyway does not correspond with our assured representations of Ganymede as cupbearer to Zeus, the identity of the boy here remains dubious.

There exists, in addition to the pursuit and cupbearer scenes, a third category of illustrations in which Ganymede features. These are narrative mythological scenes in which Ganymede plays no real part, but is included as a bystander. (165-167) The earliest of these is a very fragmentary picture of about 500 BC by the Sosias Painter where Ganymede is present in the divine gathering which welcomes Herakles

to Olympos. (165) (PL 94a) Since only the boy's head and shoulders survive, we cannot tell whether he here acted as cupbearer, an office which in the same scene was undertaken by Iris. At the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth centuries, although we have no red-figure examples of the Ganymede pursuit or cupbearer scenes which had been so popular until about 440, Ganymede reappears in his bystander role. On a kalpis of about 410 BC by the Kadmos Painter which depicts the Judgement of Paris, he very fittingly finds his place as a Trojan prince by the side of Paris and is depicted as a naked boy with hoop and stick. (166) (PL 94b) And he may also appear as a naked seated boy with hoop on the Kadmos Painter's name vase, looking on as Kadmos prepares to attack the dragon.⁹⁹ Our latest Attic red-figure vase with Ganymede, a bell-krater of about 380-70 by the Oinomaos Painter, shows him (name inscribed) with his hoop by the side of Zeus at the sacrifice of Oinomaos before the chariot race with Pelops. (167) (PL 95a)

Ganymede thus appears in three different contexts in Attic red-figure vase-painting; in pursuit scenes, as divine cupbearer and, less importantly, as a bystander in narrative mythological scenes in which he has no real part to play. The pursuit theme is by far the most common, and for this the iconographic formula is quickly established and subsequently varies little. The popularity of the subject doubtless reflects the predilection for homosexual themes in Late Archaic and Early Classical Athenian society; Ganymede to some degree most probably symbolised homosexual love and

Zeus' manifestation in the role of erastes may have indicated the divine seal of approval on such relations. Mortal counterparts of the Ganymede figure certainly seem to be plentiful in Attic red-figure: in many Late Archaic and Early Classical scenes a man pursues a boy, who sometimes bowls a hoop and though, as I have already noted, the man here may also be Zeus without his sceptre, such a mythological interpretation seems less likely when the pursuer is a beardless young man.¹⁰⁰ Such scenes find their place amongst the large number of vases which during the sixth and first half of the fifth century BC were decorated with scenes of homosexual courtship.¹⁰¹

Ganymede as cupbearer can, furthermore, be said to be the mythological equivalent of the mortal serving boys so commonly seen in red-figure symposion scenes. This comparison is particularly striking in the Kodros Painter's picture of about 440 BC (158) (PL 90a), where Ganymede waits attentively by the kline of Zeus and Hera.¹⁰²

The Ganymede figure presented to us by the vase-painters is certainly a youthful one, but his well-developed physique is more appropriate to a young man than a boy, and it is frequently rather his reduced stature, his relationship to other figures in the scene and/or his childish attributes of hoop and stick which mark him out as a boyish figure.

Tithonos

Yet another Trojan prince was Tithonos, son of Laomedon and brother of Priam, who was carried off by Eos for her own amorous purposes. The Iliad, the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, Ibykos, and Euripides Troades relate Tithonos' abduction by Eos almost in the same breath as that of Ganymede by Zeus,¹⁰³ and for both subjects Attic red-figure vase-painting employs the pursuit schema so popular in the fifth century for the representation of the love of the gods for mortals.¹⁰⁴

Although there are some sixty red-figure vases which depict a winged woman pursuing a youth who holds a lyre, our interpretation of this scene as Eos chasing Tithonos rests on a single skyphos, where the names of both figures are inscribed.¹⁰⁵ (PL 95b) A similar iconographic schema, found on about a further eighty red-figure vases, shows a winged woman pursuing a youth dressed as a huntsman: on four vases the figures are named as Eos and Kephalos.¹⁰⁶ (PLS 96, 97a) However, the probable identity of these two youths is confused by a third series of ten vases which depict a generally winged female running or flying and carrying a youth in her arms: on half of these vases the youth carries no attributes and is once inscribed as Kephalos (PL 97b), and on the other half he carries a lyre and is again once named as Kephalos.¹⁰⁷ (PL 98a) That the youth with the lyre in the pursuit scenes is necessarily always Tithonos is therefore debatable. The uncertainty is compounded by the

apparent conflation of the Kephalos and Tithonos themes in the pursuit scenes: the Lykaon Painter, for example, depicts Eos (inscribed) chasing an unnamed hunter whilst a second fleeing huntsman is inscribed Tithonos.¹⁰⁸ There is also further a series of representations where a winged woman pursues a youth who bears no attributes.¹⁰⁹

Neither is the identification of the pursuing female as Eos without its problems. She is only a few times inscribed with her name,¹¹⁰ is usually winged but may sometimes be wingless,¹¹¹ and occasionally carries a fillet in her hands.¹¹² In the latter case, Nike presents herself as a possible alternative, but it seems odd that a youth should run away from victory. There is also some confusion where a youth with a lyre or a club or dressed as a hunter is chased by a winged woman with a kerykeion, who therefore most probably is Iris.¹¹³

Not only are the identities of the pursued youth and the pursuing woman therefore problematic, but also if indeed it be Tithonos with the lyre it is unclear whether he is a boy, an older youth or a young man. Usually this lyre-bearing youth is identified as the boy Tithonos or, more generally, a schoolboy, his possession of the lyre being understood as an indication of his school age. But the lyre was not exclusively the schoolboy's attribute and might alternatively be simply an aid to leisure, and the only scene in which Tithonos is actually named (n 105) seems to present him more in the guise of a youth or young man than a

boy. The literary sources throw no light on the matter, for they do not refer to Tithonos' age or life-stage when he was carried off by Eos. Sometimes the lyre-carrying youth is considerably smaller than his winged pursuer, and gives the impression of being more boyish.¹¹⁴ But as we have seen, the height or stature of mortals, especially in the presence of the gods, is not a reliable indicator of age. Only on those few occasions where the fleeing youth carries a writing tablet,¹¹⁵ can we with any confidence label him a "schoolboy", though whether he also is Tithonos is unclear.

Since, therefore, the interpretation of the pursuit scenes involving a youth with a lyre by a winged female is so uncertain, and only once is assuredly a rather adult looking Tithonos chased by Eos, I do not include these vases in my catalogue of children. The iconography of these scenes, along with those of Eos chasing Kephalos, is very similar to that employed for representations of Ganymede fleeing from Zeus, and indeed to that of other fifth century pursuit scenes in general. Flight is commonly from left to right, and the winged woman usually runs, but sometimes flies, after the youth, whilst stretching out her arms to him. She is fully draped and her wings are drawn in profile. As he runs, the youth, generally wearing a himation, turns back his head to look at her over his shoulder. Most frequently he holds the lyre in one hand, but sometimes has dropped it or may wield it in defence against her. As with all fifth century red-figure subjects which employ the pursuit formula, the iconographic schema is

quickly established and subsequently changes little. Pictures of a winged woman pursuing a young huntsman or youth with a lyre seem to have been popular from about 490 to the last quarter of the fifth century, and it should probably not surprise us that over such a lengthy period of time the iconography of these mass-produced scenes should not to a degree merge and overlap.

When a female figure carries off a youth in her arms (n 107), the iconography of the abducted figure is just as indeterminate as that of the lyre-bearing fleeing youth in terms of his age or life-stage. Naked, or semi-naked with a himation draped loosely over his arms or shoulders, he does not seem to protest at his kidnap.¹¹⁶ His abductress may be winged or unwinged and, fully draped, runs or flies with him to right, looking back over her shoulder. The subject occurs ten times, most frequently between about 450-40. This iconographic schema was employed not only in vase-painting but also in fifth century sculpture and the plastic arts; we find it again in a terracotta akroterion group of about 440-30 from the Stoa Basileios in the Athenian Agora, and in Melian reliefs and goldwork of the second quarter of the century.¹¹⁷ And even before it entered red-figure iconography it seems to have appeared on the Amyklaian throne and in Etruscan architectural sculpture of the sixth century.¹¹⁸

The very popular fifth century Attic red-figure themes of the pursuit or abduction of mortals by gods, amongst whom

Eos and her youths recur most frequently, usually involve an erotic element. As I have noted above (p333-4), Zeus' pursuit of Ganymede may have been favoured since it may well have symbolised homosexual love. In the case of Eos and her amours, it is more difficult to find a mortal parallel to account for the popularity of the representation of an older woman's pursuit of a youth. As Kaempf-Dimitriadou has pointed out, the theme of the love of the divine for mortal in the fifth century accompanied a new conception of the gods who ^{begin} "aus der Ruhe ihres archaischen Wesens in die Bewegung des Lebens zu reisen."¹¹⁹ But there must also have been a more specific reason why the passion of Eos for mortal youths was in particular so frequently depicted.

A connection between Eos and death has long been suggested to explain her abduction of young men as an allegory for sudden death in youth.¹²⁰ Although this hypothesis remains a controversial one,¹²¹ the iconography of the group on the rim of a lekythos - itself, of course, a funeral shape - in the Louvre, seems appropriate:¹²² here the youth, almost enfolded in one of Eos' wings, is limp-limbed, sunken-headed and lifeless-looking. Indeed, it has been suggested that in general the erotic pursuit of mortals by gods signifies death,¹²³ and in the case of Ganymede's pursuit by Zeus where the boy's abduction to a new life on Olympos would seem to imply death as well as new life, the somnolent state of the boy carried in Zeus' arms on Douris' cup tondo (154) (PL 87a) may also point in this direction.

OINOPION (& STAPHYLOS)

Oinopion, son of Dionysos, or sometimes of Theseus, is not a common figure in extant Attic vase-painting. He appears certainly once in black-figure where he is named by an inscription, and can probably be identified on several further black- and five red-figure vases, which between them span the years 550-410, though only one of these has a date later than about 465.¹²⁴

Our single vase on which Oinopion appears with an inscription is the well-known amphora painted by Exekias about 525 BC.¹²⁵ (PL 98b) Here Oinopion is depicted as a naked boy or youth holding an oinochoe and standing before Dionysos, who clutches ivy tendrils in one hand and a kantharos in the other. The relationship here of boy to god is that of cupbearer, in much the same way that Ganymede appears with Zeus or Apollo on several Attic vases. (155-164) The nude boy again performing this role on an amphora decorated in the manner of the Lysippides Painter about 510 BC, is probably also Oinopion, who here serves wine to both the reclining Dionysos and Ariadne in a symposium setting.¹²⁶ Oinopion may probably further be identified as the older naked youth who pours wine for Dionysos in the company of three other youths on two amphorae of the mid-sixth century by the Amasis Painter.¹²⁷ A very different representation which most likely also concerns our hero is found on a mastos cup of about 520-10 BC by the Mastos Painter.¹²⁸ Here we see Dionysos with ivy branches and

drinking horn standing facing a woman who holds a naked child in her arms; they are flanked by satyrs and Hermes. As I have already noted in chapter two, a female figure carrying a child on each arm is several times represented in Attic black-figure and, depending on the context, can usually be identified as Aphrodite with Eros and Himeros, or Ariadne with Staphylos and Oinopion in the presence of Dionysos.¹²⁹ The mastos cup is unusual in that it shows Ariadne with only one of her infant sons; this is likely to be Oinopion rather than Staphylos, since in both Greek art and mythology the former seems to have had a higher profile than the latter.

When we turn to Attic red-figure we find that Oinopion continues to be depicted sometimes as a babe in arms (170, 171, 172) and sometimes as a boy who acts as cupbearer to Dionysos. (168, 169) A cup of the first quarter of the fifth century by the Triptolemos Painter (168) (PL 99a) and a pelike of the last quarter of the same century by the Somzéé Painter (169) (PL 99b) both show a boy serving Dionysos with wine. The Triptolemos Painter's cup tondo presents us with a boy draped in a himation who pours wine from an oinochoe into the kantharos held by Dionysos whilst looking out at us with his frontal face. The Somzéé Painter's picture is a fuller composition in which the god reclines on a banqueting couch under the shade of a fruit-laden vine and is served with grapes by a nymph or maenad and with wine by a naked boy, whilst an old silen looks on. Though not named by an inscription on either vase, Exekias'

assured representation of Oinopion as cup-bearer to Dionysos suggests that this is also the identity of the boy on both red-figure vases.

A bell-krater in Ferrara decorated about 465 BC by the Altamura Painter (170) (PL 100a) shows a bearded long-haired man dressed in chiton and himation seated facing to right on a klismos which is covered with a fawn skin. In his left hand he holds a thyrsos and with his right he supports a naked little male figure who, ivy-wreathed and clutching a kantharos and a large branch, stands on his knee facing him. Before this central group is a richly-clad and diademed woman, who gesticulates towards the man and boy with one hand and in the other holds a mantle, probably used for wrapping the child. Behind the central group is a second woman, dressed more plainly and grasping a lotus flower in each hand. Were it not for the thyrsos held by the seated man and his fawn-skin draped chair, we should interpret this scene as Zeus about to commit the infant Dionysos to the nymphs of Nysa. Indeed, as we have seen, the Altamura Painter decorated a volute-krater with this subject (8) (PLS 4b & 5), and there depicted the child Dionysos with the same attributes of ivy wreath, kantharos and branch. Furthermore, the Altamura Painter's bell-krater exhibits close similarities to the scene decorating a pelike of about 440 BC by the Nausikaa Painter (4) (FL 2b) in which the kantharos- and vine-bearing infant Dionysos perches on the knee of his father Zeus, whilst a nymph or maenad stands in frontal view before the pair, turning her head in profile to

left to gaze on father and son. However, on both the Altamura Painter's volute-krater and the Nausikaa Painter's pelike, the character of Zeus is unmistakable since he carries a sceptre, and further on the Nausikaa Painter's vase is seated on a fine throne. On the other hand, since not only the boy but also the seated man on the bell-krater very clearly bear Dionysiac attributes, it seems more fitting to interpret the scene as Dionysos with the little Oinopion, the son whom, as Diodorus tells us, he was to teach the art of making wine. (n 135) In this case, the finely-dressed woman standing before the group of father and son may well be Ariadne, and the second woman a nymph. Scheiold objects that since the seated man wears an olive, rather than an ivy, wreath he must be Zeus and not Dionysos,¹³⁰ but the olive wreath was not the exclusive property of Zeus and the figure's Dionysiac attributes predominate.

A red-figure amphora of about 475-70 BC in Bologna probably also shows Dionysos with the infant Oinopion (171) (PL 101), although like the Altamura Painter's bell-krater (170) it bears an iconographic schema familiar to us from scenes of Zeus with the infant Dionysos. On the left of the picture, facing right in profile, stands a woman dressed in chiton, mantle and sakkos, holding a child in her arms. Unfortunately, only the legs and arms of the child survive, but he appears to have been naked and twists in the arms of the woman to stretch out his arms to the figure standing before her, a common pose for children in greeting or

farewell scenes.¹³¹ In response, this central figure reaches out one hand to the child, whilst holding a thyrsos in the other. Again, unfortunately, the face of this figure does not survive, but whilst the mode of dress is the same as the first figure - chiton and himation - the head is bare except for an ivy wreath. On the right, facing inwards, another woman in chiton and himation stands holding a kantharos. We have already seen a very similar group of a woman holding a child before a standing man on a stamnos by the Painter of the Florence Stamnos (6) (PL 3b) and on the Altamura Painter's volute-krater mentioned above (8), which were both produced around the same time as, or slightly later than, the Bologna amphora.¹³² The interpretation of both the stamnos and the volute-krater scenes is unquestionably a nymph receiving the infant Dionysos from Zeus. However, on the Bologna amphora, where the central standing figure sporting ivy wreath and thyrsos is almost certainly Dionysos, the child is more likely to be Oinopion, perhaps in the company of Ariadne and a nymph. As we have seen elsewhere, we should not be surprised that the vase-painters sometimes employed the same basic iconographic schema to depict different mythological (or, indeed, genre) scenes, often - as here - differentiating their subjects by the addition of particular attributes.

Finally, we come to a unique Attic red-figure representation which probably concerns Oinopion and Staphylos. This is found on a skyphos of about 470 BC by the Lewis Painter. (172) (PL 100b) On one side of the vase

we see Theseus ([ΘΕ]ΣΕΥΣ) with himation, petasos and spears taking his leave of Athena, who carries a spear and an olive branch. The other face of the skyphos bears a four-figured composition with a woman (ΝΥ[Μ]ΦΕ) holding a naked boy in her arms facing a second woman, whilst between them stands a second naked boy. Both children stretch out their arms to the second woman, who in turn reaches out to them. Since Theseus appears on one side of the vase, the boys on the other side may well be his sons with their mother and a nurse. Both scenes seem to depict moments of departure, probably Athena sending Theseus on his way from Naxos to Athens, and perhaps consequently the deserted Ariadne relinquishing her sons by Theseus before moving on to her new lover, Dionysos; the identification of the woman to whose care she commits them as ΝΥ[Μ]ΦΕ may well suggest this Dionysiac connection.

The ancient literary sources permit two possible identities for the children. Akamas and Demophon, Attic kings and heroes, were sons of Theseus and, according to a scholiast on Homer, of Ariadne.¹³³ In preserved Attic vase-painting of the Late Archaic and Early Classical period, however, they usually appear at the sack of Troy, where they rescue their grandmother Athra.¹³⁴ Alternatively, the children could be Oinopion and Staphylos, for whose parentage and childhood the ancient sources preserve two different versions. Generally, they were regarded as the offspring of Dionysos and Ariadne,¹³⁵ but Plutarch relates that some authorities considered them to be

the progeny of Theseus and Ariadne.¹³⁶ As we have already seen, Attic vase-painters seem to have followed the first tradition, depicting Oinopion and sometimes Staphylos with Dionysos and sometimes also with Ariadne. However, the Lewis Painter seems to have had something of an unconventional taste with regard to mythological scenes involving young people, such as Iris with the infant Hermes (33) (PL 22b) and perhaps the unwinged Eos carrying off Kephalos or Tithonos (n 111), and it is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that he may here have favoured a less common version of Oinopion and Staphylos as sons of Ariadne and Theseus. Plutarch cites the fifth century poet Ion of Chios as his source for this account of the myth, and adds that Ion attributed the founding of Chios to Oinopion. As HRW Smith has noted.¹³⁷ Ion was a great Athenophile and may have been politically motivated to stress the Athenian connection between Theseus, Oinopion and the founding of Chios. In this case, we might also moot political significance in the Lewis Painter's skyphos pictures, especially if we interpret the parting scene between mother and children not as Ariadne abandoning her sons for Dionysos, but as the children being taken away from her to be returned to Athens with Theseus, from whence one day Oinopion would set sail to found Chios.

Also here should be mentioned the boy who sleeps at the foot of the bed of Ariadne and Theseus on a red-figure lekythos of about 480 BC in Taranto.¹³⁸ The scene shows Athena waking Theseus to command him to leave Ariadne,

whilst the latter sleeps on, blissfully unawares, under the influence of a miniature Hypnos who perches on her head. Though at first glance we might identify the sleeping boy as one of the sons of Ariadne and Theseus, he is probably better interpreted as the "pais amphithalēs"; that is, a male child, both of whose parents were still living and who was therefore symbolic of good fortune, who on the night before a couple's marriage accompanied the groom to the bride's house where they both slept.¹³⁹ By including such a figure in his composition, the red-figure artist stresses the poignancy of Athena's command to Theseus to abandon Ariadne.

In conclusion then Oinopion, though not a popular personality in Attic red-figure, does seem to have been occasionally depicted, mainly in the first half of the fifth century. Usually he appears in the presence of Dionysos, either as his young cupbearer or as a babe in arms, though we once apparently see a pictorial reflection of the alternative mythological tradition according to which Oinopion was son of Theseus.

ORESTES

The infant Orestes appears certainly on three, and probably on four, Attic red-figure vases. Our three certain illustrations date to the late fifth and fourth centuries, and it is during the fourth century that the theme is taken up by, and becomes more popular in, South Italian red-figure¹⁴⁰ owing probably, as we shall see, to the influence of the theatre. The subject is never depicted in extant Attic black-figure vase-painting.

Three of our Attic red-figure vases show the Orestes-Telephos episode, and I deal with these first.¹⁴¹ Telephos was king of Mysia, which country the Greeks mistook for Troy and invaded. During the battle Telephos was injured by Achilles, and when consequently the wound would not heal Telephos was advised by an oracle that only he who had inflicted the hurt could cure him. Accordingly Telephos travelled to the palace of Agamemnon to search for Achilles and there, taking Agamemnon's infant son, Orestes, he retreated with him to the altar and made his plea for Achilles' aid. The Greeks also had received an oracle, which advised them that without Telephos' help they would never reach Troy, and so they agreed that in return for Telephos' guidance on the route to Troy, Achilles would heal his wound.¹⁴²

Our three vase-paintings depicting the Telephos-Orestes episode from this myth conform to no particular iconographic

schema. The earliest appears on a pelike in London, decorated about 450 by an artist near the Chicago Painter. (173) (PL 102a) Telephos perches on the altar facing left, his bandaged leg very prominent, holding his spear in one hand and Orestes in the other. Approaching this group from the left is a bearded man, naked but for a mantle thrown over his arms and also carrying a spear. He is probably Agamemnon.

More than half a century then elapses before our next extant illustration of the subject was painted. This is found on a kalyx-krater in Berlin (174) (PL 102b), which shows Telephos kneeling with one leg on the altar whilst holding the baby in one arm and grasping his unsheathed sword in the other. The relative quiet of the earlier scene has gone and the man who now approaches Telephos, again most likely Agamemnon, does so in attack from behind. In addition to the three main characters, the scene is filled by four further figures. To right of Agamemnon, a woman fleeing to right turns back her head and raises her arm in the direction of the main group; wearing a diadem, and carrying a sceptre, she is probably Klytaimnestra. Fleeing in the opposite direction, beyond the altar, a second female figure, wearing fine robes, jewellery and a diadem, is most likely Iphigeneia. Seated above, surveying the scene, sits Apollo, crowned with a laurel wreath and holding a laurel branch. In the top left of the picture a young man with two spears might perhaps be Achilles. Orestes is here, as always in Attic and South Italian vase-paintings of the

Telephos episode, depicted as a baby. His figure on the Berlin cup, chubby and naked but for the amulets he wears, held by Telephos and stretching out his arms to his parents in front of him, can be compared to the figure type employed for the baby Erichthonios on 46, 47 and 49 and for the infant who is probably Astyanax on 124.

The third, and latest, Attic red-figure vase which most likely depicts the Telephos-Orestes episode is a very fragmentary pelike from Olynthos and is the name vase of the Painter of Salonika 34.263. (175) (PL 103a) Dating to about 360, the fragments show a central group of two men, heads bent together as if in deep discussion, with one of them performing some action behind the other's back. To left stands a third man in pilos and chlamys, holding a child in one hand and gesturing with the other towards the central group as if he is joining in the discussion. On the far right of the scene there are traces of a fourth male figure. The picture is difficult to understand because it is so fragmentary; the lower bodies of the two central figures do not survive and it is difficult to comprehend what action the one is performing behind the other's back. As for the man with child, only the head, shoulders and left hand of the bearded male remain, the child's face is badly damaged and of its body only the left arm and shoulder are intact. However, it has been suggested that the picture shows Telephos with the infant Orestes in the presence of Agamemnon and Odysseus. (see ARV 1473.1) If this is so, then since Telephos stands as tall as the two men beside

him, it is unlikely that he was here seated on the altar. I discuss this vase further on pages 354-6.

A fourth Attic red-figure scene shows Telephos seated on the altar, though without Orestes. This picture decorates a cup of about 470-60 by the Telephos Painter.¹⁴³ On one side of the cup we see Telephos on the altar about to be attacked from behind by a figure who is probably to be identified as Achilles. A young man, perhaps Patroklos, tries to restrain him, and an old man, most likely the seer Kalchas, appeals to Achilles from the other side of the altar to lay down his sword: a further figure runs out from the palace door into the courtyard, bidding Achilles to stay his hand. On the other side of the vase we see a seated, bearded man, probably Agamemnon, turning to a second bearded man in a pilos, perhaps Odysseus. Three further figures run off to left and right. Most likely here we are inside the palace from whence Agamemnon, hearing the commotion in the courtyard, sends out men to learn what is happening.

The Telephos story was thus depicted in Attic red-figure between about 470-360, and it is clear that we are presented with several different versions of the tale. The earliest picture, on the Telephos Painter's Boston cup, depicts Telephos without Orestes on the courtyard altar of Agamemnon's palace, a representation which seems to accord with the tale as it was related in the *Kypria*.¹⁴⁴ By the time the London pelike was painted, some ten or twenty years later, the infant Orestes has entered the story

and, to judge from the pelike scene, Telephos with the child in his arms takes up his place on the altar as a suppliant; although both he and Agamemnon carry spears neither threatens violence, and Agamemnon's open-handed gesture seems to be a conciliatory one. Since we know that Aischylos wrote a play on the Telephos theme¹⁴⁵ and a scholiast to Aristophanes, Acharnians 331, reports that Aischylos' Telephos snatched up little Orestes, we can probably assign the inspiration for this vase-painting to Aischylos' drama. If we look for reasons why Aischylos might have introduced the little Orestes motif into the already existing Telephos story, it is worth remembering Thukydides' tale about Themistokles.¹⁴⁶ Thukydides relates that Themistokles, fleeing from his foes, hoped for refuge at the court of King Admetus of the Molossians who, however, he knew was not kindly disposed towards him. In an attempt to gain his favour, he caught up Admetus' infant son and fled with him to the hearth as suppliant. The ploy worked, and it is interesting to speculate whether Aischylos, by the inclusion of the same tactic in his Telephos drama, might perhaps have been making reference to Themistokles' exile.

The version of the Telephos story presented by the Berlin kalyx-krater is again different. (174) Here, Telephos has drawn his sword to threaten violence against the little Orestes who, naked except for bracelets or amulets round his arms and ankles, looks back in fear at Telephos whilst stretching out his arms for rescue to his father and mother.

Agamemnon retaliates violently. Furthermore, as Metzger has proposed (n 141), the setting no longer seems to be Agamemnon's palace but the sanctuary of Apollo; Apollo, who had given the oracle to Telephos advising him that only he who had wounded him could heal him, is himself seated observing the scene, and next to him above the altar stands a laurel tree hung with votive pinakes. One pinax bears a dolphin motif and the other a male figure of a type which perhaps recalls Poseidon throwing his trident: Poseidon and Apollo were closely connected in cult and myth and it is therefore natural that the former should be honoured in a sanctuary of Apollo. Also suggestive of a sanctuary setting is the sacrificial basket which has been thrown to the ground to right of the altar during the confusion.

Euripides produced his now lost Telephos in 438 BC and, like Aischylos, included the motif of Telephos retreating to the altar with the infant Orestes.¹⁴⁷ Unlike Aischylos, however, he had Telephos hold the child hostage and threaten violence against him unless his demands were met. Although it is unclear whether this incident took place on stage or was reported, the picture on the Berlin kalyx-krater accords with Euripides' version of events, and this vase, along with several South Italian vases (n 140) also depicting Telephos holding Orestes hostage and Agamemnon rushing to the rescue, probably reflect the influence of Euripides' drama. Euripides also introduced Klytämnestra into the story, who seemingly aided Telephos in his plight and, as I have suggested, she is probably the woman with sceptre and diadem

on the Berlin vase who flees to right of Agamemnon, although given the proximity of the abandoned sacrificial basket she may alternatively be a priestess of Apollo; in this case, the woman with diadem, jewellery and fine robes fleeing to left of the altar may then be Klytaimnestra. Metzger, recalling a line from Euripides' Telephos, in which the hero cries out to Lycian Apollo,¹⁴⁸ notes the existence of a sanctuary of this god at Argos, in which city Agamemnon's palace lay. (n 141) He therefore identifies the setting of the vase scene as this sanctuary of Lycian Apollo, and Trendall and Webster agree in their reconstruction of Euripides' Telephos that the seizure of Orestes by Telephos was there reported as taking place in the sanctuary of Apollo.¹⁴⁹

The picture decorating the fragmentary Salonika pelike (175) is, as I have noted above, difficult to understand because of its badly damaged state. Telephos here seems not to have been seated on the altar, and though he holds the child in his arms the scene is apparently peaceful, or at least no violent action is taken against him, nor does he threaten the little Orestes. Webster believed that the picture reflected the influence of Euripides' play,¹⁵⁰ but I am not so sure. He suggested that the two bearded men conversing are Agamemnon and Odysseus and that a fourth man in chlamys on the right of the picture is Achilles. But if the painter of the vase had been inspired by Euripides' version of events, why do Agamemnon and Odysseus seem so unconcerned that Telephos has taken the infant Orestes, and

why does Telephos not threaten harm against his little hostage but rather enters into discussion with the two men? If Telephos is not seated on the altar and the violent moment has passed, then the only explanation can be that the Greeks have already acceded to Telephos' request to be healed, that Telephos has agreed to guide them on the route to Troy and, the danger now subsided, Telephos holds Orestes whilst Agamemnon and Odysseus discuss how best to persuade Achilles to perform his part of the deal. But this seems unlikely. The absence of Klytaimnestra, present on the Berlin vase (174) and in almost all the South Italian red-figure scenes (n 140) also militates against seeing Euripidean inspiration behind this picture. Furthermore, the iconography of the scene accords with none of our other illustrations of the Telephos-Orestes episode in either Attic or South Italian vase-painting, and we may even ask if our vase depicts the episode at all. According to Aristophanes the pilos was part of Telephos' costume in Euripides' drama,¹⁵¹ and the man holding the child on our pelike sports such a hat. This, however, is slim evidence on which to base the identification of the scene, especially since in none of our other Attic representations of the episode (173, 174, Boston cup-n 143) does Telephos wear such headgear, whilst instead the two men probably to be identified as Odysseus and Patroklos on the Telephos Painter's Boston cup both sport the pilos. However, the Salonika pelike clearly bears a mythological subject, for never in extant Attic red-figure genre scenes do we see a man cradling a child in his arms, and there seems to be no

more suitable explanation of our picture than the Telephos-Orestes story.

Maybe then we should turn from Euripides and look elsewhere for the vase-painter's possible inspiration for his scene. As we have noted above, Aischylos' version of the tale included the motif of the seizure of the child by Telephos but without any violent intent, and Klytaimnestra also seems there to have played no part in events. Our pelike, painted about 360, could therefore have been inspired by a fourth century revival of Aischylos' play. The pelike scene is, furthermore, a reminder that even at a time when Euripides' account of the myth was so popular, as attested by the Berlin kalyx-krater (174) and the South Italian vase-paintings (n 140), other versions of the myth, such as that related by Aischylos, would almost certainly also have been current.

Our latest Attic vase depicting the Telephos-Orestes episode is a squat lekythos decorated in relief.¹⁵² It shows Telephos, his bandaged leg clearly visible, seated on the altar holding the struggling Orestes, whilst a woman, perhaps Klytaimnestra, extends both arms to the child. Strangely, there is no sign of Agamemnon.

So much for the Telephos-Orestes episode in vase-painting. When we turn to our fourth Attic red-figure vase which depicts the infant Orestes, we find the child in very different circumstances. The vase in question is a fine

fragmentary kalpis from the Kerameikos cemetery, decorated about 420 by the Meidias Painter. (176) (PL 103b) The kalpis bears two painted friezes, and the one which concerns us is the upper frieze, adorning the shoulder of the vase: A Schöne's recent article discussing the newly detected inscriptions elucidates the iconography of the scene. (see catalogue entry for reference) The central focus of the frieze is the seated Helen (inscribed HAENE), who looks down pensively at a little Eros (EP__) seated on her lap. Standing behind her and leaning on her shoulder is her sister, Phylonoe. (ΦΥΛΟΝΟΕ) Behind Phylonoe two women converse: the seated figure is another of Helen's sisters, Klytaimestra (ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΕΣΤΡΑ), and her companion bending to tie her sandal is Phoiba (ΦΟΙΒΑ), Helen's sister-in-law. On the other side of Klytaimestra, completing the frieze on this side, is a very damaged group of a woman standing with one foot raised to support a child, whom she is suckling, on her knee; the baby is Orestes (ΟΡΕΣΤ) and of the inscription naming his nurse there remains only _ΠΕ_Ν_Α. Returning to the right hand side of the frieze, the woman who stood before Helen is labelled Hermione (ΗΡΜΙΟΝΕ), Helen's daughter by Menelaos, but of her figure there survives only her hair and feet and part of the chest which she carried: it is worth noting that Hermione, Orestes' future wife, is here already depicted as a woman like her mother and aunts whilst Orestes is still a babe in arms. Next comes Hilaeira (ΙΛΑΕΡΑ), Helen's sister-in-law, and finally a group of two women whose identities are uncertain; of the inscription naming the badly damaged seated figure who holds a chest

remains only T_M__VP, and the name of her companion is altogether missing.

Schöne notes that all the women in this scene whose names are legible belong to the family of the Spartan king Tyndareus, father of Helen, and suggests that the seated woman with the chest may therefore be Timandra, a daughter of Tyndareus and Leda. Orestes' nurse, here suckling the infant, went by many names in the ancient sources; in Aischylos she is Kilissa, in Stesichoros and Pherekydes she is Laodameia, and Pindar calls her Arsinoa.¹⁵³ The latter fits here with the inscription on the vase naming the figure. Schöne goes on to point out that not only are almost all of the women in the Meidias Painter's scene members of Tyndareus' family, but that most of them also shared a common fate; namely, that through the power of Aphrodite they were unfaithful to their husbands and thereby brought about misfortune and ruin. The exceptions are Phoiba and Phylonoe, and it may not be too fanciful to think that the latter looks down ruefully at her sister Helen who, already falling under the spell of the Eros on her knee was, by her adultery, to bring about such terrible consequences. The baby Orestes is (if we exclude Eros) the only representative in the scene of the male sex whom these women are to offend and whom in adulthood he will avenge. His infant status makes it clear that the women's awful actions and their consequences still lie in the future.

The lower frieze of the kalpis shows Pentheus torn

apart by his mother and sisters, whilst Dionysos looks on. Aphrodite and Dionysos were the two most commonly depicted divinities in the late fifth century, and it is not surprising to find a vase with a double frieze depicting a Dionysiac and an Aphrodisian scene.¹⁵⁴ But Schöne detects a deeper connection between the two pictures; she interprets both friezes as illustrating the vengeance of the gods against mortals. The upper frieze presents the vengeance of Aphrodite against the house of Tyndareus, a tradition preserved in Hesiod and Stesichoros,¹⁵⁵ and one which would account for the unusually sympathetic depiction of Helen as the victim of Aphrodite, a portrait of her which was apparently also drawn by the Kypria.¹⁵⁶ The lower frieze illustrates the vengeance of Dionysos on the house of Kadmos. And, Schöne continues, that the gods' vengeance is effected through women makes these two scenes very suitable for the decoration of such a "female" shape as the kalpis-hydria. She also postulates that the combination of themes depicting the downfall of the royal houses of Sparta and Thebes could hardly be coincidental during the time of the Peloponnesian War.

Finally, we come to a fifth Attic red-figure vase which may also depict the infant Orestes. This is a cup in St Petersburg decorated by the Telephos Painter about 470-60 (125) (PL 79a) with a scene which we have already examined in connection with the child Askanios. (p 320-1) It shows a man fleeing to right carrying a naked boy on his shoulders. Beazley in ARV (B17.3) wondered whether this might be

Orestes rescued by the paidagogos. However, not only would this constitute a unique scene in extant Attic red-figure, but the boy being carried here is a much older child than the baby Orestes we have thus far encountered. Furthermore, taking into account that this cup is also some ten or twenty years older than our earliest assured representation of the little Orestes (173), and that the scenes which decorate the cup exterior are the death of Priam, and Ajax and Cassandra, I think it is more likely that the tondo theme is also taken from the Ilioupersis and probably shows the rescue of a child, possibly Askanios, during the sack of Troy.

The infant Orestes thus appears in extant Attic red-figure only as a secondary character: as the little hostage taken by Telephos in order to achieve his own ends (173, 174, 175) or as the suckling child in the gathering of the women of Tyndareus' family where he personifies a presentiment of future events. (176) The episode in his childhood in which he was the focus of action, namely his rescue from Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra on the occasion of the murder of Agamemnon seems, with the possible exception of the Telephos Painter's cup, to be absent from red-figure iconography. The episode is well attested by the written sources; in Stesichoros and Pherekydes he is rescued by his nurse Laodameia, and in Pindar by Arsinoë, a character we saw depicted on the Meidias Painter's vase (176), whilst in Hellanikos it is Talthybios, Agamemnon's trusty servant, who escapes with the child; and in Sophokles, it is Elektra who rescues her infant brother and gives him to the paidagogos to carry him to safety.¹⁵⁷

ALKMAION (& AMPHILOCHOS)

Alkmaion was son of Amphiaraos and Eriphyle. Bribe^d by the gift of Harmonia's necklace, Eriphyle persuaded her husband to join the fateful expedition of the Seven against Thebes and he, foreseeing his own death, before setting out charged his son to avenge him against Eriphyle.¹⁵⁸

The departure of Amphiaraos for the doomed Theban expedition is a popular theme in archaic Greek art, both in Attic black-figure vase-painting - especially between 575-500 - and elsewhere. Pausanias has left us an account of the scene as it appeared on the chest of Kypselos, fashioned probably in the first half of the sixth century BC,¹⁵⁹ and his verbal description finds a very close visual parallel on a Corinthian column-krater of the same period.¹⁶⁰ The same basic iconographic schema of a chariot manned by a charioteer, Baton, with a warrior, Amphiaraos, stepping up into the vehicle whilst turning back to a standing woman. Eriphyle, who holds a necklace and to a naked boy, Alkmaion, who stretches out his arms to his father, is also found on Attic black-figure vases of a similar date.¹⁶¹ However, we also find other iconographic schemata used for the depiction of the subject in Attic black-figure. The Priam Painter, for example, represents the charioteer climbing into the chariot, whilst Amphiaraos stands by with Eriphyle. Alkmaion here is not a standing naked boy but a babe in the arms of his mother.¹⁶² We also have examples of the departure scene in which Alkmaion (and Amphilochos) is

absent.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the basic iconographic formula of a chariot, usually facing to right, containing a charioteer, and a warrior bidding farewell to a woman/women and child/children is a pictorial type used in black-figure for departure of warrior scenes in general, and only where the characters are distinguished by inscriptions and/or the bystanding woman holds a necklace, can we be sure that this is the departure of Amphiaraos.¹⁶⁴

Attic red-figure sees a very marked decline in the frequency of representation of the departure of Amphiaraos.¹⁶⁵ Our earliest surviving example of the subject occurs on a fragmentary kalpis of about 460 by the Niobid Painter. (177) (PL 104a) It shows the bearded Amphiaraos (inscribed AMΦΙΑΡΑ_) wearing a pilos and cuirass, with a mantle thrown loosely over his shoulders; standing in frontal view and holding a spear in his left hand, he turns his head to left to gaze at the woman standing before him and extends his right hand to her in a parting gesture. She must be Eriphyle. Behind her we see the head and naked shoulders of a boy who, watching the proceedings, is most likely Alkmaion. Behind the boy, facing away from the intimate family group, is a second bearded warrior, and behind Amphiaraos, also facing in the opposite direction to the central group, survives the head and upper body of a younger man who, elevated on a slightly higher plane than the other figures in the scene, may be the charioteer standing in his chariot. If this was the case, then the iconography of the scene retains a connection with

that of the black-figure vases, although the calmer, but more pathos-laden atmosphere of the red-figure picture represents a marked change.

Some twenty to thirty years later the subject recurs on another fragmentary kalpis, decorated this time by the Dwarf Painter. (178) (PL 104b) Amphiaraios (inscribed Α[ΜΦ]ΙΑΡΑΟΣ) is depicted in very similar fashion to his counterpart on the Niobid Painter's vase; bearded and dressed in pilos and cuirass with a mantle thrown over one arm, he stands with his body in frontal view, holding a spear in his left hand, and turns his head to left in profile towards the woman standing before him, stretching out an arm towards her; probably, as on the Niobid Painter's kalpis, to grasp her hand in a farewell gesture. Of this figure, only the top of her head and part of her diadem survive, but the inscription confirms that she is Eriphyle. ([ΕΡ]ΙΦΥΛΗ) Behind Amphiaraios stands a woman holding a child who, naked except for a fillet round his head and a string of amulets round his torso, is depicted in three-quarter back view and clings with one hand to the nurse's shoulder. His figure can be compared to that of the infant Dionysos carried by Hermes on a kalpis of about 460 by Hermonax. (22) (PL 16a) The Dwarf Painter's child could be either Alkmaion or his brother Amphilochos. Though now lost, there must have been further figures behind Eriphyle, and it is here on the Niobid Painter's vase that a boy, probably Alkmaion, stands. Furthermore, as we have already seen in black-figure, Alkmaion is usually depicted as a boy standing independently

of a nurse or his mother, although the Priam Painter does represent Alkmaion as a babe in the arms of Eriphyle. (n 162) Frequently in black-figure, two children are present at the departure of Amphiaraos, usually the standing boy Alkmaion bidding farewell to his father and the baby Amphilochoos held by a woman.¹⁶⁶ This also is most likely to have been the arrangement here on the Dwarf Painter's kalpis. There is one certain representation of Alkmaion as a babe in arms in Attic red-figure of the Classical period (180) but this, as we shall see, is not a departure scene. The Dwarf Painter's picture is a masterly study in atmosphere and restrained emotion; the physical stillness and calmness of the figures contrasts with the powerful emotion they repress - Amphiaraos lowers his head as though he cannot bear to look directly at his wife, the child clings nervously to his nurse who gestures towards the central group, and all eyes focus on the treacherous Eriphyle.

A bell-krater of about 440 from the hand of the Danae Painter presents us with a somewhat different composition which is most probably also to be interpreted as the departure of Amphiaraos. (179) (PL 105a) The central group this time is not a warrior and woman, but a warrior and boy. The bearded warrior, both in dress and stance, bears a strong resemblance to Amphiaraos on the Niobid and Dwarf painters' vases; he again stands in frontal view with his head turned in profile to left, wears a cuirass and a mantle draped over one arm and holds a spear in his left hand. This time, however, he is bare-headed and instead of

stretching out his right arm to Eriphyle in a farewell handshake, holds out a sheathed sword to a himation-draped boy in front of him. Flanking this central group stands a clean-shaven warrior on the right and a woman on the left. Since the bearded warrior already wears a sword slung around his body, he must be handing the second sword to the boy, rather than receiving it from him in the course of arming for his departure. The most fitting explanation of the scene then is that this is the moment when Amphiaraos charges Alkmaion with the task of avenging him against Eriphyle.

The similarity in the iconography of the two-figured group of Amphiaraos and Eriphyle on the Niobid and Dwarf painters' vases has been noted. Rather than being suggestive of the existence and influence of an artistic prototype for departure of Amphiaraos scenes, this is much more likely to be due to the common use in red-figure vase-painting and sculpture of the Classical period of the general schema of confronted man and woman shaking hands to denote parting - to battle, to death, and so on.¹⁶⁷ And though the same pose and dress is again adopted for Amphiaraos by the Danae Painter, a similar iconographic type is also seen elsewhere, as for example in the figure of Herakles in a scene which, painted about 450 by an artist near the Villa Giulia Painter, depicts the departure of the hero from Deianeira and Hyllos. (82) (PL 49b) This again indicates the use of a common iconographic type for different characters in scenes whose basic purport is similar.¹⁶⁸

As a result of this use of such common iconographic motifs in red-figure departure of warrior scenes, we face a problem in distinguishing the farewell of Amphiaraos not only from other mythological departure scenes, but also from scenes of everyday life in which a warrior takes his leave of his wife and child. Only when inscriptions name the characters, or a particular attribute such as the second sword on the Danae Painter's bell-krater (179) identifies the figures, can we be sure that this is Amphiaraos and his family. A red-figure stamnos painted about the same time as our assured representations of Amphiaraos' departure shows a beardless warrior in very similar pose and dress to Amphiaraos in these scenes - he stands frontally, head in profile to left, wearing pilos and cuirass, mantle draped over one arm, spear held in left hand; he confronts a woman who hands him his sheathed sword and raises a draped arm to her nose and mouth as if to suppress or hide her emotion.¹⁶⁹ (PL 106a) Between them a naked boy clings to the warrior's arm, as if he will stop his father leaving them to go to war. A second spear-bearing warrior stands by to right. Perhaps here we have the departure of Amphiaraos, although if the woman be Eriphyle it does not seem appropriate that she should either hand her husband his sword or look so grief-stricken at his departure. Possibly this could be the representation of a moment inspired by the theatre when Eriphyle realises what a tragic chain of events she has set in motion by accepting the bribe of Harmonia's necklace; as she hands Amphiaraos the sword which will one day slay her she raises her hand to her mouth in horror.

However, although the woman in the picture wears a necklace, it is not given the emphasis one might expect if this were the cause of all the trouble, and in the absence of such an unmistakable attribute or of inscriptions identifying the figures, the picture must join the ranks of the many departure of warrior illustrations which may be inspired by everyday life.

A fragmentary cup decorated by the Kleophrades Painter about 490-80 shows a departure scene whose interpretation is, however, perhaps inspired rather by myth than by everyday life.¹⁷⁰ (PL 106b) It shows a warrior stepping up into a chariot whilst receiving his sheathed sword from a woman carrying a little boy in her arms. Behind her stands an old man with the warrior's helmet. The inclusion of the chariot motif finds its parallel in black-figure departure of warrior scenes where the Amphiaraos theme was popular, and since the reverse of the cup and the tondo bear scenes which are perhaps inspired by the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, the departure of Amphiaraos has been suggested for our picture. However, as on the red-figure stamnos previously discussed (n 169), the woman again hands the warrior his sword, an action not appropriate to Eriphyle. An alternative mythological interpretation of the scene could be the departure of Hektor from Andromache, the infant Astyanax and old Priam.

Finally, we have a unique scene on a kalpis of about 440-30 in Berlin, showing not the departure of Amphiaraos

from his family, but Alkmaion (inscribed ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝ) suckling from the seated Eriphyle (___ΦΥΗ), whilst Amphiaraios (ΑΜΦΙΑΡΕ__) and a woman (ΔΗΜΟ___) look on at this domestic scene. (180) (PL 105b) Behind the standing woman is a basket and in front of Eriphyle two cocks are poised to attack each other; perhaps this jarring note of aggression in the otherwise peaceful homely atmosphere is to remind us that this domestic calm will soon be shattered by violence. Amphiaraios here does not take the warrior's role, but is instead semi-draped in a himation and leans on a crooked staff. Alkmaion, seated on his mother's knee, is naked except for a string of amulets around his torso and grasps her breast with one hand as he suckles: Eriphyle helps him by pushing his head onto her breast. The second woman is probably Demonassa (ΔΗΜΟ___), although whether she is Demonassa the sister of Alkmaion or simply a servant is unclear. Demonassa, daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle, does appear at the departure of her father for Thebes on the Corinthian column-krater mentioned above (n 160), and Pausanias attests her presence in the same scene on the chest of Kypselos. (n 159)

Our red-figure representations of the child Alkmaion are therefore very few and, as in black-figure, he appears in the guise of both baby and older child, usually at the departure of Amphiaraios. The red-figure vases on which he is found were all painted between about 460-30, especially during the decade 440-30 and, with one exception, decorate the kalpis shape. The Amphiaraios-Eriphyle-Alkmaion theme

was a very popular one for fifth century tragedy, and we may be correct in perceiving dramatic inspiration behind our red-figure pictures¹⁷¹ although, in view of the theatrical popularity of the subject, it is perhaps surprising that we have so few red-figure scenes reflecting the theme.

DRYAS

Dryas was son of Lykourgos, king of the Edonians of Thrace, who drove out Dionysos and his nymphs from their home on Thracian Mount Nysa. Having thus offended Dionysos, divine punishment was visited upon Lykourgos in the form of a madness, under the influence of which he hacked his son Dryas to death, mistaking him for a vine.¹⁷²

The madness of Lykourgos and the resulting death of Dryas is not a common subject in extant Attic vase-painting.¹⁷³ We have no evidence for it in black-figure, and it occurs in red-figure only twice, or possibly three times, in the middle to second half of the fifth century, each time on a kalpis. Our earliest assured representation of about 450 is by a later Mannerist, perhaps the Nausikaa Painter. (181) (PL 107a) Seated in the centre of the scene on a blood-stained altar is a naked youth; his lower body faces to right but he twists round to stretch out his arms to a figure who is about to attack him from behind with a double axe. This is Dryas seeking refuge on an altar, holding out his arms to his father in a gesture of supplication; Lykourgos is characterised as a king and a Thracian by his patterned cloak and boots and a diadem on his head. Between them a woman, whose peplos has fallen or been torn from one shoulder, sinks to the ground tearing her hair in despair; she must be Dryas' mother. Standing on the other side of the altar is Dionysos, holding over the head of Dryas a vine branch which must symbolise the madness with

which he has cursed Lykourgos, so that the king thinks he is cutting down a vine rather than his son. Behind Dionysos, a satyr seated on a rock plays the flute, whilst a maenad dances to his music. The slaying of a youth at an altar to which he has fled in vain to seek refuge recalls the Troilos theme, and the iconographic schema of a figure seated on an altar attacked by an armed striding figure brings to mind scenes of Priam and of Telephos, although there the attacker almost without exception effects his onslaught from in front of, and not as here from behind, his victim.

Towards the end of the fifth century another kalpis was painted with the madness of Lykourgos and the death of Dryas by the Painter of Louvre G433. (182) (PL 107b) Here the composition is fuller and is divided into two registers: in the lower register Lykourgos, naked except for a sword slung round his body and a mantle draped loosely from one arm and falling away from his forward striding leg. makes a frontal attack on his son from right, with the double axe held high above his head. This is a common attacking pose employed when the weapon is the double axe; we have seen it already on the Krakow kalpis and it is used for other axe-wielding figures such as Klytaimnestra.¹⁷⁴ Lykourgos' weapon has already hit its mark, for Dryas' headless body sinks to the ground, whilst to left of the corpse the head is borne away triumphantly by a maenad. This decapitation motif again recalls the Troilos theme. Immediately behind Dryas a woman, probably his mother, stretches out an arm

against Lykourgos, in vain protest or self-protection. Dryas and his mother are contained within a sort of leafy bower, probably meant to represent the vine which Lykourgos imagines himself to be chopping down, but perhaps also intended to denote a sanctuary area to which, like the altar on the Krakow kalpis (181), Dryas has fled for refuge, since two near-identical female statues with upraised hands are also encircled by the branches: these statues bear a close resemblance to the statues of Chryse we have seen in those scenes where Herakles makes sacrifice to the goddess on his way to Troy. (84, 85, 86, 87) Behind Lykourgos two maenads whirl in ecstasy, wielding thyrsos, sword and hare, and from the upper register Dionysos, Ariadne and attendant satyrs and maenads look down calmly on the frenzied proceedings.

Our two earliest extant literary sources for the myth, Homer and Sophokles (n 172), relate nothing about Dryas' death at the hands of Lykourgos, reporting respectively that Lykourgos' punishment for persecuting Dionysos and his followers was no worse than blindness and a shortened lifespan, or imprisonment in a cave until he reconsidered his behaviour. However, the iconographic record makes clear that the version of the story recounting Lykourgos' madness and Dryas' death was known by the mid-fifth century at the latest. We know of Lykourgos tetralogies written by Polyphrasmon in 467 and also by Aischylos. Of the former nothing survives and we have little more of the latter.¹⁷⁵ However, in the first of Aischylos' plays, the Edono1, it seems that Lykourgos, having imprisoned the maenads of

Dionysos, was driven mad by the god and killed Dryas, whom he mistook for a vine. That this drama could have inspired our vase scenes seems likely, particularly in view of the existence of a series of South Italian red-figure vases depicting the madness of Lykourgos and produced from the end of the fifth to late in the fourth century,¹⁷⁶ which could be accounted for by a revival of Aischylos' plays in the theatre of Magna Graecia. In the theatre, Dryas' death at the hands of Lykourgos would almost certainly have been reported, not acted, but the description of the atrocity could have been sufficient to fire the visual imagination of the vase-painters. South Italian red-figure, where the subject finds greater popularity than in Attic vase-painting, shows Lykourgos killing his son or his wife, or both¹⁷⁷ - in which case one of them may already lie dead - with a double axe, sometimes in the presence of Dionysos and his entourage, and sometimes also of Lyssa, personification of madness. Some of these scenes repeat the altar or female statue motifs¹⁷⁸ that we have already observed in the Attic representations. Our fragmentary remnants of Aischylos' Edono1 contain a reference to the goddess Kotys, whose rites Dionysos and his followers are described as practising.¹⁷⁹ Kotys, a Thracian goddess who, like Dionysos, was worshipped with orgiastic rites, is probably to be recognised in the female statues on the Attic and South Italian vases. These statues, the presence of an altar on other vases and the reference to Kotys in the Edono1 make it very possible that the slaughter of Dryas by Lykourgos was reported in Aischylos' drama as taking place in the goddess's sanctuary.

A third Attic red-figure kalpis decorated by a Mannerist painter of the mid-fifth century in a rough, sketchy style shows a bearded man dressed in chiton, Thracian cloak and soft cap standing frontally and looking out at us whilst holding a small naked child on his left arm.¹⁸⁰ (183) (PL 108) The child is dead, its limbs hanging limply, and the man has torn off its left leg and holds it in his hand: the man's frontal face emphasises the horror of the deed. (see p 307 & n 52) To right a second man with Thracian cloak runs off, looking back over his shoulder: to left stands Dionysos holding his thyrsos and observing the scene. The interpretation of this vase has provoked a good deal of discussion over the years (for references see catalogue entry), and it has often been taken to show the rending of Zagreus by the Titans. However, as I have already debated in chapter one (p 64-5), this is not an altogether satisfactory explanation. A less popular theory, put forward by Green, Brommer, Hampe and Metzger,¹⁸¹ has been that the scene represents the madness of Lykourgos. This would explain the presence of Dionysos, the Thracian dress of the two men, and why one of the Thracians flees the scene in horror as the child is destroyed. But the objection has remained that the means of death employed for the child - rending him limb from limb - is neither appropriate to the myth as we know it in the extant literary sources, nor to its depiction elsewhere in Attic and South Italian red-figure, where Lykourgos hacks his son to death with the double axe. However, might we not possibly have here a reflection of the satyr play from Aischylos'

Lykourgeia in which perhaps the horrendous murder of Dryas in the Edonoi was parodied? The cartoonish style of drawing of the picture, with its rather mask-like faces, perhaps lends support to this hypothesis. It is also worth noting that Apollodoros, though recounting Dryas' axe-death, also attests that Lykourgos mutilated the body by cutting off his son's extremities. (see n 172)

Finally, we come to two possible further red-figure representations of the demise of Dryas, but this time at the hands of a maenad rather than Lykourgos. Both of these vases - a pyxis lid (PL 109a) and a neck fragment from a volute-krater¹⁸² (PL 109b) - date to the end of the fifth century and show a group of dancing satyrs and maenads, one of whom holds a child upside down over her shoulder, swinging him by one leg. The suggestion that this child might be Dryas has come from Martin Robertson, who has pointed out the similarity between the group of maenad and child on the pyxis lid and the same group on the great fourth century Derveni krater.¹⁸³ There this maenad, whirling in the presence of Dionysos, is accompanied by a bearded man wielding a sword. This latter figure wears only one boot and this, Robertson suggests, given the pictorial context, might be the clue to his identity; an epigram in the Greek Anthology describes a bronze statue of Lykourgos brandishing an axe over his head against a vine, and calls him "μονοκρῆπις" or "one-booted".¹⁸⁴ That the figure on the krater holds a sword rather than a double axe does not mean that he cannot be Lykourgos, since the Edonian king

also wields a sword on one of the South Italian vases.¹⁸⁵ If the one-booted, sword-bearing man on the krater is Lykourgos, then the child held so carelessly by the maenad is Dryas.

Noting the existence of a late fifth century wall-painting in the new temple of Dionysos by the theatre at Athens, seen by Pausanias and reported by him (1.20.3) as depicting, amongst other subjects, the punishment of Lykourgos, Robertson concludes that it is possible that both the maker of the Derveni krater and the painter of the pyxis lid may have been inspired by this wall-painting, excerpting from it figures appropriate to their own compositions; the group of maenad and child on the bronze krater and red-figure pyxis could be one such group of figures. If the pyxis lid perhaps presents us with Dryas in the grip of a maenad, then so might also the similar group on the volute-krater fragment. Nevertheless, since the iconography of these scenes is so different from that of our assured red-figure representations of the death of Dryas, where Lykourgos himself perpetrates the dreadful act, I think these conclusions must for the present remain tentative; the child taken for the maenad's sport need not be Dryas. We should, however, note the existence of an unusual South Italian red-figure hydria fragment which shows a monumental entrance way, one door of which has been torn from its hinges, and before it the tantalisingly scanty remains of a figure wielding a double axe and holding a child upside down over his shoulder.¹⁸⁶ If we interpret the scene as the

madness of Lykourgos, then we are provided with a parallel for the motif of Dryas as a young child held upside down on the pyxis and volute-krater. although we still lack evidence for Dryas' death at the hands of a maenad. The iconographic type of a child held by one foot over the shoulder of an adult figure is of course already familiar to from scenes of the death of Astyanax and Troilos.

ITYS/ITYLOS

The story of a grieving woman changed into a nightingale as a result of her misdeeds was a popular one in classical antiquity, and there seem to have been at least two versions of this story which concerned the child Itys or Itylos. The older of these appears in Homer,¹⁸⁷ who tells us that Aedon (the nightingale), daughter of Pandareus and wife of Zethus, unwittingly slew her son Itylos, and in her remorse pleaded to be changed from human form. The scholiast elaborates on this to explain the reason for her infanticide;¹⁸⁸ herself mother of only two children, Aedon was jealous of her brother-in-law's wife, Niobe, and her many children, and thus planned to kill one of the infants at night. Itylos, however, was sleeping with his cousins. and Aedon by mistake slew him instead.

The apparently later Attic version of the myth relates that Prokne, daughter of King Pandion of Athens, was the mother of Itys.¹⁸⁹ She was married to Tereus, king of the Thracians but he, seeing her beloved sister Philomela and becoming enamoured of her, was unfaithful to his wife. Lest Philomela should tell her sister of his infidelity, he cut out Philomela's tongue: but she wove a peplos with her story and sent it to Prokne. To avenge herself and her sister on Tereus, Prokne slew her own son Itys, cooked his flesh and served the unholy dish as dinner to her husband. Realising what she had done, Tereus pursued Prokne and Philomela with intent to kill them, but the gods intervened and changed

Prokne into a nightingale, Philomela into a swallow and Tereus into a hoopoe.

Attic red-figure vase-paintings of the subject make clear that both versions of the myth existed concurrently in the early fifth century BC.¹⁹⁰ Let us deal first with the Homeric tale, which is to be seen on a cup in Munich painted by the Magnoncourt Painter about 490. (184) (PL 110a) The tondo shows a fine bed complete with mattress and pillow, on which a naked boy is being attacked by a woman. The woman, inscribed AEAONAI, has grasped the boy's hair in one hand, and with the other is about to plunge a sword into his neck. The motif of an attacker holding his victim by the hair is one we have also seen in use to depict the attack of Achilles on Troilos (notes 60 & 65), of Neoptolemos on Priam (119, 121, 122) and of Ajax on Cassandra. (113, 121, 123) (See also n 44) Pushed back against his pillows the boy, inscribed ITVΣ, is struggling vainly, and stretches out an arm in supplication to the woman's face, a gesture which again recalls that of Priam towards Neoptolemos. (113, 114) On the wall behind hang the empty sword sheath and a lyre.

This is our only certain red-figure representation of the Homeric version of the tale, but we may see it again on a kalpis of about 450 by the Nekyia Painter.¹⁹¹ Gone is the frenzy of the moment, and instead a woman, standing in frontal view with a drawn sword in her hands, looks down pensively at a youthful sleeping figure. Lying on a mattress, head on pillow, this figure is completely

enveloped, except for its head, in a robe or bedclothes. The murderous deed has yet to be committed and the victim sleeps peacefully unawares whilst the woman agonises what she should do. If this is indeed Prokne, then the pathos-laden representation of her dilemma here, in mood at least, foreshadows Alkamenēs' later sculptural expression of the same.¹⁹²

The second version of the story appears in a cup tondo of about 490 by Makron. (185) (PL 110b) One of the sisters, probably Prokne, holds up in front of her the naked little Itys by both arms, and both mother and son look left towards a second woman who wears by her side the sword she will soon use against the child. Gesturing animatedly with both hands, she is probably Philomela who, deprived of her tongue, has found other ways to communicate. Perhaps she has been relating her sufferings at the hands of Tereus and is trying to persuade her sister to take vengeance on her husband by slaughtering their son; for Prokne, not yet convinced of such drastic action, has swept up the child and seems to be moving off with him to right.

The subject is also depicted in another cup tondo of about 500 BC, but the moment chosen is that of the child's death. (186) (PL 111a) Though the picture is fragmentary, we can see that the child, inscribed Itys, is held up by the arms from behind by a draped figure and, as he kicks and struggles, a second female figure before him grasps him by the hair and raises her other arm to strike the deadly blow.

The weapon she held does not survive but was clearly a sword, for the sheath hangs in the field behind her.

A comparison of this scene and the Magnoncourt Painter's picture discussed above (184) reveals close similarities of style and composition. The group of attacking woman and struggling child on both cups is very close indeed, but whilst the Magnoncourt Painter's Aedon commits the murder unaided, taking Itys by surprise as he lies in his bed, the Itys of the second cup is held out for slaughter by his mother's accomplice and the bed finds no place in the scene. Cahn and Williams attribute this vase to the young Onesimos, but von Bothmer believes it to be a second illustration of the Itys story by the Magnoncourt Painter, who was himself influenced by Onesimos.¹⁹³ But whichever painter was responsible for the decoration of the vase, it is interesting to note the Magnoncourt Painter's subsequent excerpting of the group of woman slaying child for his Munich cup tondo (184) which depicts the alternative, Homeric, version of the Itys myth. The creation of the group may well lie with Onesimos, for the pose of his Achilles slaying Troilos in the tondo of his Perugia cup (n 65) (PL 78a) closely resembles the Prokne/Aedon figures: the right arm wielding the sword is raised high over the head and the left arm is stretched out to hold the victim by his hair, whilst the body is braced in a curve, one leg thrust forward, against the frenzied resistance of the young prey.

The Attic version of the myth appears on a third red-figure vase, a column-krater decorated about 470 by an artist near the Painter of Bologna 228. (187) (PL 111b) The sisters have already killed, cooked and served up Itys to Tereus, and now flee from him as he realises what has happened. The setting, indicated by an Ionic column, is the palace and Tereus, shaking a scabbarded sword at the fleeing sisters, is in the process of rising from his dining couch. Strips of meat from the unholy repast still hang from the table in front of him and below this is a basket, over the side of which the child's leg hangs limply. This combination of child in basket calls to mind scenes of the infant Erichthonios, though he of course is very much alive. (see, for example, 53)

Several decades after our red-figure vases had been decorated with the Prokne-Philomela-Itys story, Sophokles wrote a now lost play, Tereus, on the theme.¹⁹⁴ Though his drama of about 431 BC may have inspired Alkamenes' statue of Prokne and Itys, dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis about 425. (n 192) and may also be reflected in an Attic silver cup of about 420 with a relief scene of Tereus, Philomela and the pensive Prokne, it apparently occasioned no revival of the theme in Attic vase-painting.¹⁹⁵ South Italian red-figure, on the other hand, seems to have taken up the subject.¹⁹⁶

Our Attic red-figure vases depicting the fate of Itys at the hands of his mother and aunt, along with several

others of the early fifth century which probably show the pursuit of the offending sisters by Tereus,¹⁹⁷ help to fill the lacunae in the earlier literary sources and show that Sophokles was reworking an already well-established myth variant. That the non-Homeric version of the Itys story goes back further than the early fifth century is shown by one of the metopes from the temple of Apollo at Thermon: this, dating to about 630 shows the two sisters bending over the body of the child.¹⁹⁸ The women are identified here by the names of the birds they will turn into as Chelidon and Aedon, swallow and nightingale, and indeed, since our earliest evidence for the names of the two sisters as Prokne and Philomela is in Sophokles' Tereus, it may be that we should name as Chelidon and Aedon the women on the Louvre, Basel and Villa Giulia vases. (185, 186, 187)

OIDIPUS

Oidipus, like Perseus, was a royal child about whom it was prophesied that he should grow up to kill his father. King Laios of Thebes therefore ordered the exposure of his infant son, but a shepherd found the child and delivered him into the safe hands of Polybus, king of Corinth.¹⁹⁹ Our sole surviving reflection of the story in vase-painting is found on a large red-figure neck-amphora decorated by the Achilles Painter. (188) (PL 112a) This fine piece presents us with a clean-shaven man walking to right, dressed in short belted chiton, petasos and sandals and carrying on one arm a naked child and in the other hand a spear. The little boy rests his head, depicted in three-quarter view, on the man's shoulder and steadies himself against the man's chest with his left hand: a convincing childlike attitude is thus effected for the boy, but his physique and facial features have the appearance of a diminutive young man rather than a child. Without the accompanying inscriptions naming the figures as Euphorbos (ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΣ) and Oidipus (ΟΙΔΙΠΟΔΑΣ), we should be hard pressed to identify the scene. The reverse of the amphora shows an older man draped in a himation, who may perhaps be Polybus, although he holds a staff rather than a sceptre.

The story of Oidipus was a popular one in fifth century Athens, both as dramatic and artistic subject matter. However, whilst the tragedians concentrated on the dual themes of Oidipus' patricide and incestuous marriage with

his mother,²⁰⁰ the vase-painters' visual imagination was by contrast inspired by the hero's meeting with the sphinx,²⁰¹ and only once in extant red-figure does the death of Laios occur.²⁰²

ASKALAPHOS/IALMENOS

A red-figure skyphos of about 460, the name vase of the Euaichme Painter, presents us with a scene of an old man and a child-carrying woman standing on either side of an Ionic column. (189) (PL 113a) The old man, white-haired and leaning on a knotted stick for support, is starting to move off to left but turns his head back to look at the woman. She, standing in frontal view with her head turned in profile towards the old man, covers her mouth with one hand and holds the child on the other. This boy, naked except for a string of amulets around his torso and a fillet round his head, sleeps peacefully, his eyes closed; his head, depicted in three-quarter view, is supported by his hands and rests on the woman's shoulder. The picture carries inscriptions, naming the man and woman as Aktor (AKTOR) and Astvoche (A\$\$TVO+E): without these we should have problems in identifying the scene.

Astyoche, daughter of Aktor, king of Orchomenos, had secretly by Ares Askalaphos and Ialmenos. When these grew to manhood they led the Minyan contingent in the Trojan War, in which conflict Askalaphos was slain by Deiphobos.²⁰³ We can only guess at which of these children is represented here, but perhaps Aktor has just discovered that Astyoche has borne him a grandchild or grandchildren, the Ionic column presumably indicating that the setting is the interior of the palace. Astyoche appears to be distressed, covering her mouth with her hand as if to fight back

powerful emotion. Perchance since she is shown with only one of her children, and we know that of these Askalaphos was to die at Troy, this child may be Askalaphos, about whose unfortunate future Aktor has perhaps just prophesied: as we have already seen in the case of Alkmaion (177, 178, 179, 180) and of Orestes (176), the inclusion of a child in a red-figure scene can sometimes be used as a device to hint at future events. Perhaps also the picture on the other side of the skyphos lends credence to this interpretation of our scene, since Nestor arming before Euaichme may also make reference to the Trojan War.

The Euaichme Painter provides us with our only certain representation of the infant Askalaphos/lalmenos.²⁰⁴ but we may again see Astyoche with one of her children on a white-ground kalyx-krater fragment of about 460-50 by the Villa Giulia Painter. (190) (PL 113b) This preserves the head and shoulders of a very similar group of woman with child: the woman, head again turned left in profile, displays the same type of gesture with her hand covering her mouth, and the child sleeps head on hands on her shoulder, his face this time depicted in fully frontal view. That the scene is a mythological one is confirmed by a second fragment from the same vase, on which we see part of the head, spear and name of Athena. (AΘEN[AIA]) However, whether the mythological story depicted is that of Astyoche and her children remains open to question. Similarity of iconography does not necessarily imply similarity of subject, as we shall see in our discussion of the next vase.

Beazley thought that Astyoche and her sons appear again on a red-figure alabastron in Providence.²⁰⁵ (PL 112b) The obverse of the vase shows a woman carrying a sleeping child, very similar to the group on our previous two vases: like the infant on the white-ground fragments, the boy's face here is presented in frontal view. This time, however, a second naked child is present, standing by his mother's side and clinging to her skirts: the object he holds in his other hand is probably a hoop stick. Erika Simon has, quite rightly in my opinion, pointed out that, even though the iconography of the woman carrying boy is similar to that employed by the Euaichme Painter for Astyoche and her son, and though the presence of two children on the alabastron fits nicely with Askalaphos and Ialmenos, a mythological interpretation of the alabastron scene is unlikely.²⁰⁶ She directs our attention to the scene on the reverse of the vase where a hetaira holding a mirror stands before, and appears to bargain with, a seated young man. The combination of a heroic theme such as Astyoche and her children and a lowlife genre scene on the same small vase is an unlikely one, and the inclusion of a wool basket and a sakkos in the scene of the woman with the two boys also has a very domestic resonance. Furthermore, a closer examination of this woman's gesture reveals differences from that of the Euaichme Painter's Astyoche and that of the woman on the white-ground vase. Whereas both these figures cover their mouth with their hand, the woman on the alabastron raises her hand to her cheek. As Neumann and Wehgartner have demonstrated, a hand covering the mouth is a

gesture of sudden alarm and powerful emotion, whilst the hand raised to cheek rather expresses apprehensive meditation.²⁰⁷ On balance, the alabastron scene is much more likely to be a genre rather than a mythological scene, and the explanation for the use of very similar iconography for these two diverse subjects can probably be found in the origin of the two vases, for both were painted by the Villa Giulia Painter.

The iconographic schema of a naked child carried on the arm of an adult figure and resting his head in three-quarter or frontal view on the shoulder of his guardian is to be found not only in the work of the Euaichme and Villa Giulia painters, but also in that of other artists at work in the second and third quarters of the fifth century. Compare the Achilles Painter's neck-amphora with the infant Oidipus on the arm of Euphorbos. (188) (PL 112a) A looser iconographic parallel can also be seen in the figure of a boy (Askaniios?) in a cup tondo of about 470-60 by the Telephos Painter (125) (PL 79a) where, however, the child perches on the shoulders of a man (Anchises?) and rests his head on his hands on top of the man's head. Also comparable is the infant (?)Amphilochos in the arms of his nurse on the Dwarf Painter's fragmentary kalpis of about 440-30. (178) (PL 104b) although the boy there is depicted in three-quarter back view.²⁰⁸

ERIGONE/ALETES?[~]

One of the largest kalyx-kraters known is to be found in the possession of the J Paul Getty Museum. (191) Standing some fifty-three centimetres high without the foot, it was decorated about 465 by the Aigisthos Painter,²⁰⁹ and carries a unique scene of the death of Aigisthos.²¹⁰ The picture forms a continuous frieze around the vase. the obverse of which presents the seated Aigisthos struggling vainly as Orestes plunges a sword deep into his breast. (PL 114a) Orestes, lunging to right, turns his head back to see Klytaimnestra rushing up with a double axe, whilst a bearded man, most likely Talthybius, tries to restrain her. (PL 114b) Behind Aigisthos another woman hastens up, stretching out her left hand in the direction of Orestes and raising her right hand to her forehead. (PL 115b) These figures are all elements which are familiar from other scenes of the death of Aigisthos, but peculiar to this kalyx-krater is the group of woman with child located between Orestes and Klytaimnestra. The reverse of the vase shows two women fleeing from the murderous scene, whilst three men with staffs look on. (PL 115a)

Erika Simon has identified the running woman behind Aigisthos as Erigone, and the group of woman with child as a nurse with the infant Penthiolos, (n 209) since Erigone, daughter of Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra was, according to Kinaithon, mother of Penthiolos by Orestes.²¹¹ Elektra should then be one of the women on the reverse of the vase

but, as Prag has pointed out, flight from the scene of action is out of character for Elektra.²¹² She is more likely to be the figure behind Aigisthos' throne, although the gesture of consternation she displays, with hand held to forehead, is a new one for her. The men and women on the reverse of the vase will then be further members and retainers of the royal household.

What alternatively might then be the identity of the woman with child? The woman, running left towards Klytaimnestra, turns as she flees to look round at Orestes and Aigisthos and, raising a hand to her head, appears to be tearing her hair in despair. Unlike the other women in the scene she has short hair and wears plainer clothes and is therefore probably a nurse or maidservant. The baby, whose face is missing and who must have a very long body to judge from the position of its feet, is enveloped in a mantle except for head and feet and, like the nurse, turns to watch the violent proceedings: the child depicted here calls to mind the similar figure of the infant Dionysos carried by Hermes on (15) (PL 11a) and (18) (PL 14). Cahn has suggested (n 212) that the baby Erigone or Aletes, children of Aigisthos and Klytaimnestra, would find an appropriate place here.²¹³ As I have noted above (p 387), children in mythological scenes can sometimes be used by the vase painters to point to events which as yet lie in the future: here at the death of Aigisthos the inclusion of the baby Aletes might refer to his own death in the years to come at the hands of Orestes, or the presence of the infant Erigone

might hint at her future role as the attempted avenger of her parents' murder, since it is she who will initiate in Athens the prosecution of Orestes. Gais has objected that if the baby be Erigone this raises a question about her age at the trial of Orestes.²¹⁴ However, I think this is too literal a reading of the painted scene. The telescoping of time is a common device used by the vase-painters to refer in the same scene to past, present and future events: take, for example, the appearance of Hermione, future wife of Orestes, on the Meidias Painter's *Kerameikos kalpis* (176) (PL 103b) where she is depicted in the same adult fashion as her mother and aunts, while Orestes is still a suckling babe. If indeed the child in our death of Aigisthos scene is Erigone or Aletes, the irony of the situation should not go unnoticed: Agamemnon had been slaughtered whilst his son was yet a babe and the infant Orestes had been rescued by his nurse. (see p 360) By his actions Orestes now visits the same fate on the offspring of Aigisthos.

Since representations of mythological female children are extremely rare (see ch 5), Aletes is perhaps more likely than Erigone to be the identity of the child in our scene.²¹⁵

GLAUKOS

The boy Glaukos, son of King Minos of Crete and of Pasiphae, had the misfortune one day to fall into a tub of honey and drown. The distressed father commanded Polyidos to find the child, but when the seer produced the dead boy, Minos incarcerated him in a tomb with the lifeless body and threatened that there they should both stay if Polyidos could not resurrect Glaukos. In the darkness of the tomb Polyidos spied a snake and killed it, only to see a second serpent revive its mate by rubbing it with a certain leaf. Seizing this opportunity, the seer treated the boy's body in the same fashion, and emerged from the tomb with the living child.²¹⁶

Although a popular dramatic theme in fifth century Athens, and one treated by all three great tragedians.²¹⁷ the story is illustrated only once in extant Attic vase-painting on the well-known white-ground cup by the Sotades Painter. (192) (PL 116a) Decorated about 460, the tondo shows a section through a beehive tomb, on the apex of which perches a tripod. Kneeling on the pebbly floor of the chamber we see Polyidos (name inscribed), staff in hand, about to strike out at the offending snake. Observing the proceedings is the squatting and shrouded Glaukos (name inscribed), and approaching from bottom left slithers the second serpent which will revive its mate. What we see is not a single moment in the story, for Polyidos is about to strike the snake, the snake is already dead, its mate

approaches to revive it and Glaukos, who logically must as yet be dead, is not an inert figure but looks on attentively. Instead, the vase-painter has captured all the significant moments of the story in a single narrative illustration.

O Palagia sees the presence of the tripod on top of the tomb as a probable allusion to contemporary drama and suggests that the scene perhaps reflects Aischylos' Kressae or Sophokles' Μάγιστος (Polyidos).²¹⁸ It may, however, be rather that the tripod is intended simply as a crowning marker on the tomb, for the theatrical treatment of the Glaukos myth seems not to have fired the visual imagination of the vase-painters. We should not, however, be surprised to find such an unusual subject in the work of the Sotades Painter, for he was an exceptionally fine and original artist. The researches of A Griffiths and L Burn have shown that this vase was one of a set of three white-ground cups probably custom-made by the Sotades Painter to be placed in the tomb of an Athenian lady and that, like the subject matter of the other two cups, the Glaukos myth was a particularly appropriate one to extend to the deceased and her relatives the hope of a life beyond death.²¹⁹ Whilst in Crete the death and resurrection of Glaukos seems, furthermore, to have been symbolic of the transition from boyhood to manhood, this underlying significance of the myth is unlikely to have been transferred to Athens.²²⁰

MELEAGER'S SON

A fine kalyx-krater of about 430-20 by the Dinos Painter presents a scene of departure. (193) (PL 116b) In the centre a young man with himation, or chlamys, and petasos slung over his left shoulder stands facing right, holding a pair of spears and wearing a sword by his side. In his right hand he holds out a bunch of grapes to a naked child held on the arm of a woman. The little boy sports a fillet round his head, a string of amulets round his chest, and bracelets on both wrists and left foot. The woman, dressed in chiton, is bare-headed but raises the right shoulder fold of her garment in a modest gesture: she regards the young man intently. By the side of the woman, and observing the central group, sits an old man with white hair and beard, holding a staff. Behind his chair is a Doric column and, resting one hand on the back of his chair, a veiled woman stands and regards the scene. Flanking the central group on the other side stand two young men: one dressed in chlamys, petasos and boots and holding two spears, and the second wearing chlamys and pilos and carrying a staff in one hand and over his shoulder a fardel on a stick. from the end of which hang a strigil and aryballos, are probably a companion and a servant respectively of the young man in the centre.

Were it not for the inscriptions on the vase, we should interpret this as an everyday scene of parting of a husband and father from his wife, son and parents to set out on a

journey with his companion and servant. However, the picture is given heroic significance by the naming of the central young man as ΜΕΛΕΑΓΡΟΣ. Beazley (ARV 1152.7 bis) describes the scene as Meleager accompanied by two companions, in the presence of his parents, Oineus and Althaia, and his son Parthenopaios in the arms of a nurse. However, the intense gaze with which the woman holding the child regards Meleager, combined with her wifely gesture and central position in the composition, make it unlikely that she is merely a nurse or maidservant. We have the testimony of one late source that Parthenopaios was the result of the union between Meleager and Atalanta.²²¹ However, this woman's appearance does not accord with that of Atalanta as she is depicted elsewhere in Attic red-figure.²²² Moreover, it seems likely from the dress and weapons of the three young men that they are about to depart on the hunt of the Kalydonian boar, in which case Meleager's affair with Atalanta cannot yet have taken place.

Perhaps, as M Brouskari has suggested, the woman holding the boy is Alkyone/Kleopatra, the wife of Meleager.²²³ However, the preserved ancient literary sources inform us of only one child born to the couple, a daughter Polydora,²²⁴ and since the child's male genitals are clearly visible on the vase, this cannot be she. The identity of the Dinos Painter's woman and child therefore remain uncertain.

The significance of the bunch of grapes offered by

Meleager to the boy is perhaps illuminated by Apollodoros, who tells us that Meleager's father Oineus, who is seated to right, was the first man to receive a vine-plant from Dionysos.²²⁵ Oineus' palace is denoted by the Doric column behind his chair, and the veiled woman standing with her hand on this chair is most likely his wife Althaia. Another inscription by the side of the two young men who accompany Meleager reads AVK__, and one wonders whether this might just possibly be a reference to Lynkeus, whom the ancient sources tell us was with Meleager on the Kalydonian boar hunt.²²⁶

The story of Meleager was a very popular one in antiquity and though our extant literary sources for the tale are patchy, we know that at least two versions of the myth existed concurrently in the fifth century. The Homeric tale tells that after the slaying of the boar, Meleager refused to join the Aitolian fight against the Kuretes because he was vexed with his mother, who had cursed him for slaying her brother. Without Meleager's help, the battle against the Kuretes went very badly for the Aitolians until eventually, persuaded by his wife's pleading, the hero joined the Aitolian warriors to win the day.²²⁷ The non-Homeric version of the myth²²⁸ elaborates the story to explain that Meleager slew his uncles because they tried to deprive Atalanta of her prize of the boar's skin which Meleager, who was enamoured of her, had awarded her for drawing first blood in the hunt. Further, we are told that when Althaia learnt of Meleager's violence towards her

brothers she destroyed the fire-brand, which at her son's birth she had been told would occasion his death the day it should be consumed. Both Sophokles and Euripides wrote now lost plays treating the story, and while Euripides' Meleager followed the non-Homeric tale and gave prominence to Atalanta, Sophokles' drama seems to have agreed with the Homeric version.²²⁹ Our vase-painting may reflect either version of the story; we see a serene, united family group, but perhaps (?) Kleopatra's intense gaze focussed on Meleager indicates her presentiment of a time not long hence when her family will be torn apart by anger, violence and confusion.

CONCLUSIONS

Non-Attic heroic children are represented in Attic red-figure from about 520-360. Certain of their number, namely Achilles, Askanios, Alkmaion, Astyanax and Oinopion, had already appeared in black-figure, and indeed the childhood of Achilles, the flight of Aineias with Askanios and Anchises, and the departure of Amphiaraos in the presence of Alkmaion, were essentially black-figure themes which found limited popularity in red-figure. The red-figure artists, however, introduced many new child heroes into their repertoire, and employed mythological childhood subjects with a far greater frequency than their black-figure predecessors, especially in the first half of the fifth century when non-Attic heroic offspring find their period of greatest popularity. Most commonly, these red-figure mythological childhood themes appear on hydriai, kraters and cups.

The apparent reasons for the popularity of specific mythological children in red-figure are various. Zeus' pursuit of the boy Ganymede, appearing between 490-50, fits in with the common preference for scenes of mortals pursued by gods, and also probably reflects interest in homosexual themes. The frequent depiction of Astyanax between 510-460 accords with the general popularity of Trojan subjects in red-figure during these years. Dramatic inspiration probably lies behind several of our representations of the infants Perseus, Orestes and Dryas. On the other hand, the

disappearance of the young Achilles from vase-painting after 475 may perhaps be connected with the establishment in contemporary Athens of the New Education of the grammatistes, since Achilles' education at the hands of Chiron was probably equated with the now outmoded Old Athenian Education.

Like heroic Attic children, their non-Attic mythological counterparts are represented in red-figure as babies, older children and adolescents. The iconographic schema comprising a standing man or woman holding an infant in front of a second standing figure, familiar from scenes of the infants Dionysos, Hermes, Zeus and Hyllos, is employed further for Meleager's son (193) (PL 116b), and also for the infant Achilles (108) (PL 67a) and Oinopion (171) (PL 101) who effect the twisting pose with outstretched arms so common for children in scenes of greeting or farewell. (see p 206 & 279) The departure of Meleager from (?)Kleopatra and their son and of Herakles from Deianeira and Hyllos in these scenes also bears comparison to red-figure representations of the departure of Amphiaraos from Eriphyle and Alkmaion. These mythological scenes of farewell of a father and husband from his wife and child to depart for the hunt or to battle are, furthermore, paralleled in red-figure scenes of everyday life. (see p 366)

The iconographic motif of a child standing on the knee of a seated adult to denote parentage or adoption occurs not only for Dionysos with the infant Oinopion (170) (PL 100a)

but also, as we have seen, for Dionysos on the knee of Zeus. (4) (PL 2b) This motif was also employed in black- and red-figure for Zeus with his daughter Athena, and further in black-figure for (?)Hephaistos on the knee of Zeus. (ch1 n4)

The type of the fleeing boy, most commonly amongst mythological children employed for Ganymede, is a variety of the pursued figure so popular in fifth century vase-painting. It is also, however, used exceptionally to depict the attempted escape of Astyanax (115) (PL 72), and the successful escape of Askanios (123) (PL 76) from Troy. The figure of a running boy in addition recurs many times in red-figure genre scenes, sometimes independently where the youth, like Ganymede, bowls a hoop, or on other occasions once more in conjunction with a pursuing man, where the theme is erotic. (p 334 & n 100)

The general iconographic formula of an often older running or flying figure carrying off a younger is widely used in red-figure, and its application to childhood subjects includes the boy (?)Ganymede in the arms of Zeus. (154 & n 97) It is also employed for the Trojan youth Tithonos in the embrace of Eos. Its significance in both cases is abduction. This, however, is not the case on a black-figure amphora of about 510-500 (p 184 & n 110), on which Hermes runs with the infant Herakles to bring him to Chiron: some similar errand of delivery, rather than abduction, may well also be the purpose of Iris's hasty progress with the little Herakles on a kalpis by the

Kleophrades Painter. (70) (PL 44b) However, on an amphora of about 460 by the Niobid Painter, where a fleeing woman chased by Artemis carries away a female child, it is difficult to tell whether the significance is delivery or abduction. (196) (PL 117b)

Two of our non-Attic mythological children, namely Ganymede and Oinopion, are presented in red-figure as cupbearers to the gods. They are depicted as naked or semi-draped boys pouring wine from an oinochoe or waiting patiently for further commands. They are paralleled in scenes of everyday life by frequently represented serving boys, a parallel which is especially close on 158 (PL 90a) where Ganymede attends Zeus, and on 169 (PL 99b) where Oinopion waits on Dionysos, both in a symposion setting.

Unique in the iconography employed for mythological children in red-figure is a boy (?Askanios) perched on the shoulders of a running man (?Anchises) on 125 (PL 79a). A child carried on the shoulders of an older figure does, however, also occur in red-figure genre scenes, although the group there may be stationary.²³⁰ The attitude, though not the location, of the boy on 125 also bears comparison to that of Askalaphos or Ialmenos on 189 (PL 113a) and 190 (PL 113b) who, this time carried on the arm of Astyoche, moulds his body to that of his guardian and rests his head on his hands in similar fashion to (?Askanios, with his face likewise in three-quarter or frontal view. Again, a parallel exists here with the iconography used for what is

most probably a mortal child on a red-figure alabastron in Providence. (n 205)

Suckling children are very rare in preserved Attic red-figure: we have only Orestes nourished by his nurse on a kalpis by the Meidias Painter (176) (PL 103b), Alkmaion suckled by Eriphyle on another kalpis (180) (PL 105b), and possibly the infant Dionysos about to be suckled by a nymph who has bared her breast on a now lost krater. (16) (PL 12) We might argue that this absence of further scenes of suckling children may be because divine and sometimes heroic infants were fed on nectar and ambrosia rather than mother's milk. However, I know of no red-figure representations of mortal babies feeding at the breast. It is interesting that our only two certain suckling children in Attic vase-painting, Alkmaion and Orestes, were both to commit matricide in adulthood and that, further, the two pictures which depict them suckling from their mother or nurse respectively are calm domestic scenes furnished with a heavy sense of foreboding of the tragedies yet to unfold. Furthermore, as I have noted in chapter three (p 169 & n 82), the popular mythological theme of an abandoned child discovered and suckled by an animal is given artistic expression once only in Attic red-figure on a fourth century chous where the baby Hippothoon suckles from a mare. (65) (PL 41b)

It is worth noting here that nurses of heroic children are several times named on red-figure vases and/or in the

ancient literary sources, an indication, borne out by the archaeological record and the ancient literature, that considerable importance was attached to the role of childrens' nurse in Classical Athens.²³¹ Orestes' nurse is given various names in the literary sources (n 153) and is called Arsinoa on a kalpis by the Meidias Painter (176) (PL 103b): a young woman who is probably a maid and who is closely associated with the infant Perseus is inscribed Damolyte on a stannos by the Deepdene Painter (100) (PL 63a): and Herakles' old nurse is named Geropso on a skyphos by the Pistoxenos Painter. (71) (PL 45)

The mythological theme of the endangered child, so familiar from tales of the infant gods (ch 2, p 115) and of the Attic hero Herakles, recurs many times in tales of the childhood of non-Attic heroes. Just as Kronos, forewarned that his son would overthrow him, had tried to destroy the infant Zeus, so cruel action is taken against the infants Perseus, Achilles and Oidipus as a result of prophecies telling that these children will grow up to be greater than, or to slay their father or grandfather. Orestes, on the other hand, is held hostage and is threatened, though not harmed, by Telephos, and Glaukos' accidental death by drowning also has a happy conclusion. Other mythological children are endangered by the horrors of war, and while Askanios escapes a horrible fate, Astyanax is not so fortunate and suffers a grisly death at the hands of Neoptolemos. The demise of Dryas and Itys at the hands of their father or mother respectively is even more macabre.

This brings us to the subject of infanticide.

Greek myth and vase-painting deals with two types of infanticide, "active" and "passive": "active" infanticide concerns the bloody murder of a child, whilst "passive" involves the exposure of an infant. Let us look first at "active" infanticide in red-figure.²³² The means of death is various for the three children whose murder is depicted in Attic red-figure. Astyanax is usually hurled over the shoulder of Neoptolemos to be bludgeoned against Priam, Dryas is slain with a double axe, and Itys run through with a sword. There are also, however, links between the iconography in use for the murder of each child, and further iconographic connections can be made with scenes of the death of the Trojan youth Troilos. The motif of a child swung headlong over the shoulder of an adult figure is employed not only for Astyanax and also for the youth Troilos, but may further be used to depict the death of Dryas at the hands of a maenad (p 375 & n 182), although this latter infant may alternatively be a non-heroic mortal child. The beheading of Dryas on 182 is paralleled by the decapitation motif in scenes of the slaughter of Troilos (p 309: iv, v, vi, vii) and Astyanax (n 41, viii), and the grisly dismemberment of a child is in evidence in pictures of the fate of Dryas (183) and Itys (187). The juxtaposition of the murder of a youth at an altar is found in the case of Dryas (181), of Troilos (n 65) and of Astyanax. (112-123) All three murdered boys - Astyanax, Dryas and Itys - may be represented prior to their death

(115, 181, 185), at the moment of death (112-122, 182, 184, 186) or post-death. (123, 183, 187)

"Passive" infanticide is a subject dealt with in red-figure with reference to Perseus, Oidipus and Hippothoon, and many more examples of exposed children can be found in mythology, such as Telephos and Ion. Often the reason for their abandonment, as in the case of our three red-figure infants, was a prophecy that the child would grow to overthrow or kill his father or grandfather, and/or was the result of the mother's infidelity to her mortal spouse through her erotic liaison with a god.²³³

It is notable that "active" infanticide in preserved Attic red-figure is committed only against non-Attic heroic children, and that similarly only non-Attic heroic children may be depicted as dead. Reference to "passive" infanticide or exposure of Athenian children is, however, made in the case of Hippothoon. Although the extent of the occurrence of exposure in Classical Athens and the understanding of contemporary attitudes to its practice are complicated and much-discussed issues, there was certainly a major distinction made between exposure on the one hand and on the other the deliberate murder of a child which incurred blood guilt.²³⁴ The crime of infanticide committed by the Greek warrior Neoptolemos against the Trojan boy Astyanax, even though an enemy, is no laudable occasion either in the ancient literature or in vase-painting where its combination with the murder of Priam at the altar of Zeus underscores

the terrible and unholy nature of the action, which will engender only bad consequences for the Greeks. The slaughter of Itys by his Athenian mother, Prokne, must also have been perceived as a terrible crime, but since Prokne killed her son as a result of her Thracian husband's infidelity, one wonders whether a warning was not here being issued with regard to what could happen as a consequence of intermarriage with a barbarian. Lykourgos, too, who in red-figure hacks to death his son Dryas, was a Thracian.

The moments chosen by the vase-painters to illustrate the exposure myths of Hippothoon, Oidipus and Perseus are various. In the case of Oidipus and Hippothoon, the happy outcome of the story is depicted, with the infants being rescued by human or animal agents. And while most of the scenes depicting the Danae and Perseus tale show them prior to their abandonment at sea in the chest, four vases represent their rescue on Seriphos. (94, 95, 96, 97) Perhaps in showing the positive conclusion of these mythological stories of exposure, the vase-painters attempted to view the practice of exposure in an optimistic and positive light, drawing a veil on what was probably in reality the darker and more grisly fate of many abandoned Athenian babies.

It is most commonly in scenes of infanticide or scenes in which the well-being of a young boy is threatened that the vase-painters depict the child figure in frontal view to underscore the child's terror and the horror of the crime

committed against so helpless a victim. As befits his fate, Astyanax is the figure most frequently represented with frontal face and body. (113, 114, 120, 121, 123) (PLS 70, 71a, 74b, 75a, 76) The Telephos Painter's boy (?Askanios) perched on the shoulders of a man (?Anchises) as they flee from some danger (?Troy) also has a frontal face, (125) (PL 79a) and Oidipus carried on the arm of Euphorbos is depicted in three-quarter view, perhaps to emphasise the unhappy fate he has narrowly escaped. (188) (PL 112a) This use of the frontal aspect applies equally to adult figures: take, for example, Lykourgos' frontal stance as he rips apart Dryas on 183 (PL 108) and also the attitude of the woman (?Prokne) on a kalpis by the Nekyia Painter (n 191) who, with sword in hand, regards a sleeping figure (?Itys) and agonises whether to take bloody action against him. Less frequently, a child may be depicted in frontal view in peaceful circumstances, where its purpose is to emphasise that the boy is no ordinary child and/or is the focus of the composition: such is the case for the infant Asklepios on 38 (PL 25a), Oinopion on 168 (PL 99a), and the sleeping Askalaphos or Ialmenos on 189 (PL 113a) and 190 (PL 113b). The rare depiction of a child in back view is seen on 22 (PL 16a) for Dionysos in the arms of Hermes brought to Athamas and Ino, on 66 & 67 (PLS 42b-43a) for Iphikles in his bed reaching out to Alkmene to escape the snakes sent by Hera, on 112 (PL 69) and 122 (PL 75b) for Astyanax, and on 178 (PL 104b) for Amphilochos (or Alkmaion) at the departure of Amphiaraos. In each case the child's attitude expresses fear or apprehension, or downright terror.

As I have previously observed in my chapter conclusions for divine infants and heroic Attic offspring, non-Attic mythological children in red-figure are also depicted essentially as miniature adults until the late fifth and fourth century, when they are represented in more childlike fashion with chubbier limbs and less firmly muscled bodies: the infants Astyanax and Orestes on vases of the first quarter of the fourth century are good examples of this development. (124, 174) (PLS 77 & 102b) Earlier isolated attempts had been made by individual red-figure artists to capture the spirit of childhood, with varying degrees of success: as early as 490 the Magnoncourt Painter (184) (PL 110a) and Makron (185) (PL 110b) depicted Itys as a slight and helpless boyish figure, but at the same time gave him the well-developed and clearly delineated musculature more appropriate to the figure of a young man. A little later, in the middle years of the fifth century, vase-painters began to experiment with the representation of more childlike poses and attitudes, though still for the most part continued to give the infant figures the bodies and faces of miniature young men. This can be seen in the figures of (?)Amphilochos on the Dwarf Painter's kalpis of 440-30 (178) (PL 104b), in the Achilles Painter's picture of Oidipus of about 450 (188) (PL 112a) and in the Villa Giulia Painter's representation of (?)Askalaphos (190) (PL 113b) and of a similar, and probably mortal, child (n 205) (PL 112b) of circa 460-50. The Euaichme Painter's infant Askalaphos (or Ialmenos), painted about 460 (189) (PL 113a), is a rare early example of a child figure which is

successful both in the creation of a childlike attitude and the physical forms of childhood. It is also in the second half of the fifth century that representations of suckling children appear (176, 180) (PLS 103b & 105b), and the figure of the nursing Alkmaion on a kalpis of about 440-30 (180) is again effective in the execution of both a childlike attitude and a convincingly infantile physique.

The representation in red-figure of older boys and of adolescence is ambiguous, as I have already noted in the conclusions to my chapter on Attic heroes. The figure of Ganymede is clearly a youthful one with his clean-shaven appearance and often slightly reduced stature, but again his well-developed physique is more appropriate to a man than a boy, and it is frequently his toys of hoop and stick which distinguish him as a child. Tithonos is an even more ambivalent figure in terms of the identification of his life-stage: though he has a similar physical appearance to Ganymede, he lacks exclusively childish attributes and thus can be categorised only generally as "youthful". Troilos in red-figure is usually depicted as a youthful, clean-shaven figure carrying spears, commonly of full stature and well-muscled physique. Many times he bears a close resemblance to red-figure mortal ephebes, and the sparse ancient literary sources furthermore describe him as a youth in the latest stages of adolescence. It is only in Onesimos' Perugia cup tondo (n 65) (PL 78a) that he appears as a young boy, and even on that vase he reappears on the exterior as a figure of full adult stature. With Onesimos' Louvre cup in

mind, (ch 3, n 163) (PL 56a) where the same discrepancy exists between the appearance of Theseus on the interior and exterior of the vase, it seems reasonable to conclude that the depiction of both Theseus and Troilos as boyish figures was peculiar to Onesimos and was probably a deliberate device on the part of this artist to exploit the pathos of his subjects. However, the very fact that Onesimos could represent the same character in the guise both of man or boy on the same vase suggests, together with the observations I have made here about the youths Ganymede and Tithonos, and in chapter three about Herakles and Triptolemos, that the vase-painters lacked an iconographic "type" for the adolescent figure, whose boyish or manly facet they therefore alternately presented.

NOTES

1. For the ancient literary sources see LIMC III, Danae p 325-6; E Brümmer JdI 100 (1985), 123-4; J Oakley AJA 86 (1982), 111 n 2; J M Woodward Perseus (1937), 3-23.

2. For the iconography of the Danae and Perseus story see LIMC I, Akrisios; III, Danae; J Oakley The Phiale Painter (1990) [=Oakley 1], 23-4; AJA 86 (1982) [=Oakley 2], 111-15, pls 12-13; K Schefold Die Urkönige (1988), 97-100; Brümmer loc cit n 1, 122-3; F Brommer Vasenlisten zur griechische Heldensage (1973), 272-3; K Schauenburg Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums (1960), 7-12; J Caskey-JD Beazley Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston II (1954), 11-12; C Clairmont AJA 57 (1953), 92-4; Th Howe AJA 57 (1953), 269-75, pl 76; H Luschey BABesch 24-6 (1949-51), 26-8; AB Cook Zeus III (1940), 455-59; JM Woodward Perseus (1937), 3-23, 60-62, 66 & 76; PE Arias Dioniso 4 (1933-5), 281-3; R Engelmann DJH 12 (1909), 165-71.

3. For vases depicting Danae and the golden rain see Brommer op cit n 2, 271-2; S Papaspyridi-Karouzou BCH 70 (1946), 436 ff; Cook op cit n 2, 455.

4. For discussions of the identity of the two women see LIMC III, Danae 41 & 42 & p 336; Schefold op cit n 2; Caskey-Beazley op cit n 2, 11 (with further bibliography).

5. Howe loc cit n 2, 271-5.

6. On these skin hats see chapter 3, n 107.

7. See E Simon in D Kurtz & B Sparkes, eds The Eye of Greece (1982), 139; Schauenburg op cit n 2, 1 n 5 & 9ff; Luschey loc cit n 2. See also M Werre-de Haas Aeschylus Diktyulki: An Attempt at Reconstruction of a Satyric Drama (1961).

8. For Simonides' ode see DL Page Poetae melici Graeci (1962), F543; Woodward op cit n 2, 11ff.

9. Schefold op cit n 2.

10. Clairmont loc cit n 2, 93 n 5; H Metzger Les Représentations (1951), 336; S Aurigemma Il R Museo di Spina in Ferrara (1936), 72; Scavi di Spina I (1960), 144.

11. Clairmont loc cit n 2, 94. In response to him, Oakley 1, 24; 2, 112-14.

12. Oakley 1, 24; 2, 113 n 7.

13. A further fragment, once interpreted as depicting the Danae and Perseus story, but now shown conclusively by Oakley to belong rather to the Erichthonios myth is my catalogue no 53. See also p 139-40. A missing lekythos fragment painted by the Villa Giulia Painter about 460-50, and once at Kassel in the collection of R Lullies, shows the head and shoulders of a bearded man in skin hat and probably exomis. This outfit is typical of Diktys and his companions, and so the vase may have shown the landing of Danae and Perseus on Seriphos; however, this costume is also worn by many other characters in Attic

red-figure, and the fragment's interpretation therefore remains very doubtful. See ARV 624.77, 1662; Add 271; LIMC III, Danae 69. Also Oakley 2, 114.

14.Scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios Argonautica IV.1091.

15.On the iconography of the chest, and the chest in ancient Greece see Brümmer loc cit n 1, 1-168; Caskey-Beazley op cit n 2, 12; W v Massow AM 41 (1916), 6ff.

The theme of a child hidden in a chest for safety or placed in a chest and set adrift appears several times in the late literary sources. (On these see Brümmer loc cit n 1, 105, 131-3; B Rutkowski BSA 63 (1968), 225ff; NM Holley JHS 69 (1949), 39ff; AB Cook Zeus II (1925), 671ff.) But only in the case of Erichthonios and Perseus can we be sure that such stories were current in the fifth century.

16.On the iconography of the young Achilles brought to Chiron see J Beazley Development of Attic Black-Figure 2 (1986) [=Beazley 1], 9-10; BABesch 14 (1939) [=Beazley 2], 4-6; LIMC I, Achilles I, pp 40-42, 45-47, 53-54; H Rühfel Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst (1984), 59-74; K Schefold Götter-und Heldensagen der Griechen (1978), 192-3; FAG Beck Album of Greek Education (1975), 9-12; D Kemp-Lindemann Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst (1975), 7-18; Brümmer op cit n 2, 330-31; MA Manacorda La Paideia di Achille (1971); R Etienne L'Enfance d'Achille dans la littérature et dans l'art (PhD, Liège 1940); K Friis Johansen in Dragma, Festschrift Nilsson (1939), 181-205; E von Stern Achill bei Chiron (1913).

17.Proto-Attic neck-amphora, Berlin 31573 A9, from Aigina, Painter of the Ram Jug, mid-seventh century. LIMC I, Achilles. 21, pl 58.

18.For the ancient literary sources concerning the childhood of Achilles see LIMC I, Achilles, pp 40-42.

19.Homer Iliad 9.442 & 485 (reared by Phoinix); 11.831 (educated by Chiron in medicine); 18.56ff, 437ff (brought up by Thetis).

20.Pindar Pythian VI, 21-26 (490 BC); Nemean III, 43-52 (?475 BC).

21.Beazley points out that as on later black- and red-figure vases, Chiron on the Proto-Attic amphora carries a branch from which are suspended animals. He interprets the animals here as being a young lion, boar and wolf and notes the various literary traditions which refer to Chiron feeding the little Achilles on the viscera and marrow of such animals: Apollodoros 3.13.7 - inwards of lions and marrow of wild boars and bears; Statius Achilleis II.96 - inwards of lions and marrow of half-living she-wolf; comic poet Antiphanes, F42 in TH Kock Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta II (1884) - bear, lion, wolf; Schol Homer Il 16.37 - marrow of lions and bears. The descriptions of Achilles' food had been assumed to be a late addition to the tale, but Beazley concludes that the Proto-Attic vase shows that this part of the legend was at least as old as the mid-seventh century, and "a characteristic part of an ancient epic story, probably related in the Kypria". Beazley 1, op cit n 16, 10; 2, 14.4-6. See also D Robertson Classical Review 54 (1940), 177-80 and A Rumpf Gnomon 25 (1953), 469.

22.The representation of the subject on the Amyklaian Throne must also have belonged to this type: see Pausanias 3.18.12.

23. Pindar Nemean III. 43-5, translated by J Sandys (Loeb ed, 1919).
24. Beck op cit n 16, 9.
25. Friis Johansen loc cit n 16, 203-4.
26. Beck op cit n 16, 10.
27. DC Kurtz, J Beazley The Berlin Painter (1983), 94.
28. Stamnos, Palermo, V762, from Chiusi, Berlin Painter, ca 490. ARV 207.139: Add 194: LIMC III, Cheiron 40, pl 190.
29. Beazley 2, op cit n 16, 6 n 11.
30. G Siebert LIMC V, Hermes 384.
31. Beck op cit n 16, 13 n 3.
32. Linos as teacher possesses the narthex on 74. On the narthex see also chapter 3, n 126.
33. Beck op cit n 16.
34. Chiron as a teacher of Greek heroes: Homer Iliad 11.831 - Achilles; Pindar Nemean III, 43ff & 57 and Pythian VI, 21ff - Achilles, Jason, Asklepios; Hesiod Theogony 1001 - Medeios, & Ehoiai F96.49-54 - Achilles, F19 - Jason [A Rzach Hesiodi Carmina (1913)]. For Chiron as teacher of Herakles see ch 3, n 109.
35. On the iconography of the death of Astyanax see O Touchefeu in LIMC II, Astyanax I; in F Lissarague-F Thélamon, eds Image et Céramique Grecque (Rouen, 1983), 21-29; A-F Laurens in Dialogues d'histoire ancienne (1984), 214-19; Rühfel op cit n 16, 45-58; Chr Zindel Drei vorhomerische Sagenversionen in der griechischen Kunst (PhD, Basel 1974); Brommer op cit n 2, 393-5; Recueil Charles Dugas (1960), 59-74 [=AntCl 6 (1937), 5-26]; Ch Mota RA 49 (1957), 25-44; PE Arias RivIstArch 4 (1955), 95-116; MI Wiencke AJA 58 (1954), 285-306 & pls 55-64; T Tosi Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica 4 (1912), 39-74 & 3 (1905), 160-81.
36. D Williams in Greek Vases in the J Paul Getty Museum 5 (1991), 50-51.
37. See H Speier in R Lullies, ed Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, Festschrift B Schweitzer (1954), 114.
38. D Williams in JbBerlMus 18 (1976), 9-23.
39. See LIMC II, Astyanax I.18.
40. Column-krater frr, Athens Akropolis B12, Tyszkiewicz Painter, ca 480. LIMC I, Aias II, 46.
On the iconography of the rape of Cassandra see further ch 5, p 440-41 & n 26.
41. Attic black-figure representations of the death of Astyanax occur between ca 560-500:-
i. Lekythos, Syracuse, Mus Naz 21894, near the Dolphin Group, ca 560.

- Para 201: Add 115: LIMC II, Astyanax I, 7, pl 682.**
- ii.Amphora, Berlin, Staatl Mus 1685, Lydos, ca 550. ABV 109.24: Add 30: LIMC II, Astyanax I, 9, pl 682.**
- iii.Amphora, Paris, Louvre F 29, Lydos, ca 550. ABV 109.21: Add 30: LIMC II, Astyanax I, 8, pl 682.**
- iv.Amphora, London, BM B205, Group E, ca 550. ABV 136.55: Add 37: LIMC II, Astyanax I, 11, pl 683.**
- v.Pyxis, Berlin Staatl Mus 3988, ca 550. LIMC II, Astyanax I, 10 pl 683**
- vi.Amphora, Paris, Louvre F222, Class of Cambridge G49, ca 525. ABV 316.4: Add 85: LIMC II, Astyanax I, 12, pl 683.**
- vii.Amphora, Bonn, Akad Kunstmus 39, ca 500. LIMC II, Astyanax I, 13.**
- viii.Lekythos, Athens, Nat Mus 11050 (N936), ca 500. LIMC II, Astyanax I, 14.**

Always Neoptolemos attacks from left. On iii, iv, v and vi Priam is collapsed/lying on the altar whilst Neoptolemos raises Astyanax's body to smite him: these representations date to 550-25. On ii and vii Priam is sat or perched on the altar rather than lying on it. The earlier of these two representations (ii), painted by Lydos ca 550, is closest to our red-figure illustrations in its elements of Priam's pose, the dead warrior, and Helen led away by Menelaos. But the earliest and one of the latest black-figure representations are unique; the earliest, on a lekythos in Syracuse (i), shows Priam draped over the altar, and Neoptolemos holding up Astyanax by the leg and preparing to spear him. On the later lekythos (viii), Neoptolemos attacks Priam with Astyanax's decapitated head, probably a confusion with the iconography in use for death of Troilos scenes. On the confusion of the Troilos-Astyanax iconography see p 314-16.

42.The death of Aigisthos appears on two red-figure stamnoi of ca 480-75 by the Tyszkiewicz Painter:-
Zurich University, Arch Institut 3451, ARV 291.19: Para 356: Add 210.
Vatican, Astarita 530, ARV 291.20: Add 210.

43.AJNW Prag The Oresteia (1985), 93. Compare the Stieglitz Painter's death of Linos (74) with his death of Priam on a fragmentary cup in Athens, Akropolis Coll 355, ARV 828.29.

See also Prag 92-4 for a discussion of the iconographical connections between scenes of the death of Aigisthos, death of Priam, death of Linos, and the Telephos episode.

See also chapter 3, p 197 & n 130.

44.For this gesture in death of Aigisthos scenes see, for example, the kalyx-krater by the Aigisthos Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 63.1246, ca 470-65, ARV 1652: Para 373.34 quater: Add 234.

45.Kalyx-krater, Ferrara T936, from Spina, Niobid Painter, ca 470-60. ARV 601.18, 1661: Para 395: Add 266.

46.The pestle-swinging woman appears four times in red-figure scenes of the sack of Troy: on the Brygos Painter's cup (115), on the Kleophrades Painter's Vivenzio hydria (123), on the reverse of the Tyszkiewicz Painter's krater (119), and on Onesimos' Getty cup (113). On 115 she is inscribed Andromache: on 113 there remain traces of an inscription H___E, which could be restored as Hekabe, although the woman looks too young to be she. Further, the presence of the pestle fallen to the ground in the tondo scene on 113 make Polyxena another possible pestle-swinger. Most likely, then, the pestle-swinging female provides another example of the use of a single iconographic

type for a variety of subjects.

On the figure of the pestle-swinging woman see further Williams loc cit n 36, 52 & notes 56 & 58. See also Prag op cit n 43, 92 & 94 on the similarity of this figure to the axe-swinging Klytaimnestra. (On 113 a woman wielding a double axe and inscribed AN___ may be Andromache.)

47. On the ancient literary sources for the death of Astyanax see O Touchefeu in LIMC II, Astyanax I, pp 929-30 and Wiencke loc cit n 35.

48. Schol Lykophron 1268: Pausanias 10.25.9.

49. Proklos, Chrest in Homeri Opera ed by Th W Allen V (1936), 108.

50. For examples of the death of Priam depicted independently of the death of Astyanax see Arias loc cit n 35, 105-7 & Wiencke loc cit n 35.

51. Pausanias tells us that Polygnotos depicted the Trojan women, including Andromache and her son, (10.25.9), though there they are already captives. He makes mention of several other Trojan infants and children - 10.26.5 & .9, 10.27.4. For reconstructions of Polygnotos' Ilioupersis scene, see C Robert Die Iliupersis des Polygnot (HallwPr 17, Halle 1893), and more recently MD Stansbury-O'Donnell in AJA 93 (1989), 203-15.

52. See further chapter 2, p 100-101 & n 46 on the use of frontal faces in vase-painting.

53. Iliad 6.369-502, esp 399-400 & 24.723-745, esp 726. Euripides Trojan Women 568-71, 740-779, 1156-1206.

54. Sophokles Troilos (see Pearson, below): Lykophron Alexandra 307-13: Apollodoros epit 3.32: Tzetzes Schol on Lykophron 307-13: Eustathius on Homer Iliad 24.257.

On the ancient literary sources for the death of Troilos see A Kossatz-Deissmann in LIMC I, Achilles, pp 72-3; Kemp-Lindemann op cit n 16, 90-93; Mota loc cit n 35, 25 n 4; L Séchan Etudes sur la Tragédie Grecque (1926), 214-8; A C Pearson, ed The Fragments of Sophocles II (1917), 253-61.

55. See Pearson op cit n 54.

56. Mythog Vatic I.210.

57. Vergil Aeneid I, 474-8: Dares 33: Tzetz posth 382-90: Q Smyrn 4.418-35: Auson epit 18.

58. On the iconography of the Troilos story see T Carpenter Art & Myth in Ancient Greece (1991), 17-20; M Robertson in EYMOYΣIA: Studies Cambitoglou (1990), 63-70; Kossatz-Deissmann loc cit n 54, 72-95, pls 78-95; Schefold op cit n 16, 203-8; Kemp-Lindemann op cit n 16, 90-127; Zindel op cit n 35, 30-80; Brommer op cit n 2, 357-66; Mota loc cit n 35; Wiencke loc cit n 35; M Heidenreich AM 4 (1951), 103-19 & pl 24; Séchan op cit n 54.

59. For lists of these vases see Kossatz-Deissmann loc cit n 54, 72-95, pls 78-95.

60. See, for example, the fragmentary Louvre cup G154 by the Brygos Painter, ca 480, ARV 369.3: Add 224: LIMC I, Achilleus 344, pl 91. See also the red-figure lekythos, Palermo, Coll Mormino 674, ca 470-60; LIMC I, Achilleus 343.

For a comparable mortal ephebe figure on horseback see, for example, cup, Louvre G 105, Onesimos, first quarter of the fifth century. ARV 324.60.

61. See, for example, the Vatican stamnos 16557 by the Hektor Painter, ca 450-40, ARV 1036.8: LIMC I, Achilleus 347. Also Nolan amphora, Florence, Mus Archeol 4020, Painter of Munich 2332, ca 470, ARV 1192.3: Add 342: LIMC I, Achilleus 338.

62. Cup, Paris, Louvre G18, Oltes, ca 520-10. ARV 61.68: Add 165: LIMC I, Achilleus 369, pl 94.

63. See note 57 for the later written sources.

The unique black-figure representation of ca 530 is found on a hydria in New York, Met Mus 06.1021.48: LIMC I, Achilleus 309.

64. Cup, Palermo, Mus Naz V 659, from Chiusi, Makron, ca 490. ARV 480.2: LIMC I, Achilleus 368.

65. Cup, Perugia 89, from Vulci, Onesimos, ca 490. ARV 320.8: Para 359: Add 214: LIMC I, Achilleus 370, drawing on p 88.

66. Corinthian krater, Paris, Louvre E638 bis, ca 590. LIMC I, Achilleus 365, pl 94.

67. Lekanis lid, Naples, Mus Naz, C Painter, ca 570-60. ABV 58.119: Para 23: Add 16: LIMC I, Achilleus 384; II, Astyanax I, 28, pl 686.

68. Hydria, Munich, Staatl Antikensamm 1700, Leagros Group, ca 520-10. ABV 362.27, 695: Para 161: Add 96: LIMC II, Astyanax I, 29, pl 686.

69. Mota loc cit n 35, 28. See also Pearson op cit n 54, 254 & frag 620.

70. Dio Chrysostom 11.78.

71. Amphora (small), Madrid 1101 (L178), Alkimachos Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 530.23: Add 254: LIMC I, Achilleus 367, pl 94; II, Astyanax I, 32.

72. On the iconography of Askanios see E Paribeni in LIMC II, Askanios: F Canciani in LIMC I, Aineias M & N: MA Loudon The Graphic & Literary Tradition of the Escape of Aeneas (PhD, London 1983): MA Loudon & S Woodford in AJA 84 (1980), 25-40: G K Galinsky Aeneas, Sicily & Rome (Princeton, 1969): K Schauenburg Gymnasium 67 (1960), 176-91: G Bermond Montanari EAA I (1958), 704 Ascanio.

73. On the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina see N Horsfall JHS 99 (1979), 35-43 & pl 2.

74. On the ancient sources for the myth see LIMC II, Askanios p 860: O Rossbach RE II (1896), 1611-14, Askanios 4: E Wörner ML I (1884-6), 611-15, Askanios.

That Sophokles may also have dealt with the escape of Aineias, Anchises and Askanios, see Strabo 13.1.53. (A Nauck Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Suppl B Snell (1964), 133 F10)

75.A list of Attic black-figure vases showing the flight of Aineias, Anchises and sometimes also Askanios is given in Schauenburg loc cit n 72, 178-81, pls VII-XVI. See also LIMC I, Aineias M & N.

76.The Attic red-figure vases depicting the flight of Aineias and Anchises from Troy are:-

- i.Cup, Vatican, from Cerveteri, near the Pythokles Painter, ca 500-490. ARV 36: Para 325: LIMC I, Aineias 88.
 - ii.Vivenzio hydria, Naples, Mus Naz 2422, from Nola, Kleophrades Painter, ca 480. See catalogue no 123.
 - iii.Kalyx-krater, Boston, MFA 59.178, Altamura Painter, ca 465. See catalogue no 120.
 - iv.Kalyx-krater, Ferrara, Mus Arch T 936, from Spina, Niobid Painter, ca 450. See above, n 45.
- There is also a white ground lekythos with the same theme: Gela N61, Brygos Painter, ca 480-70. ARV 385.223: Add 228: LIMC I, Aineias 155.

77.Parthenon, north metope XXVIII. See C Praschniker Parthenonstudien (Augsburg 1928), 108-110 & fig 79: F Brommer Die Metopen des Parthenon (Mainz 1967), 220-1 & pls 118-122.

78.See, for example, the black-figure neck-amphora in Berlin F1862, Three Line Group; Para 141: Add 86. Also black-figure lekythos, Copenhagen, NY Carlsberg Glyptothek 2658, Phanyllis Painter, ca 510-500; LIMC I, Aineias 86, pl 302.

79.Etruscan red-figure amphora, Monaco, Antikensamml 3185, from Vulci, Praxias Painter, ca 470-60. LIMC I, Aineias 94, pl 303.

80.The story that Aineias fled to Latium first appears in Hellanikos, F Jacoby Die Fragmente der Griechischer Historiker F31. Also Dion Hal ant 1, 47-57: Strabo 13.1.52-3: Vergil Aen 2. See also Galinsky op cit n 72.

81.Prag op cit n 43, 116 n 1.

82.Lukanian red-figure volute-krater, British Museum F160. H B Walters BMC Greek & Etruscan Vases IV (1896) F160: J Davreux La Légende de la Prophétesse Cassandre (1942), 152, fig 50.

83.Apollodoros 1.4.3. For Pherekydes and other ancient sources see Roscher ML, Orion, 1037-8 & Pauly's RE XVIII, 1, Orion, 1071-2. On the myth of Orion see further A Griffiths JHS 106 (1986), 66-70.

84.See, for example, the blind Phineas with eyes closed on a kalpis of ca 480 by the Kleophrades Painter - Malibu, Getty Museum 85.AE.316, The J Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Collections (1986), 50.

85.On the iconography of Ganymede see K Arafat Classical Zeus (1990), 66-76, 189-191: H Sichtermann in LIMC IV, Ganymedes (=Sichtermann 1); AntK 2 (1959), 10-15 (=Sichtermann 2): G Kempter Ganymed. Studien zur Typologie, Ikonographie und Ikonologie (PhD, Würzburg 1980): S Kaempf-Dimitriadou Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5 Jh v Chr, AntK 11 Beiheft (1979): Schefold op cit n 16, 211-8: PC Mayo Amor spiritualis et carnalis. Aspects of the Myth of Ganymede in Art (PhD, New York 1967): MJ Milne AJA 59 (1955), 68-71.

For further possible representations of Ganymede, supplementary to my catalogue, see Sichtermann 1 & 2.

Ganymede carried off by the eagle, a group created in sculpture by Leochares (Pliny NH 34.79) and a schema which dominates the Ganymede theme in art from the fourth century on, does not occur in archaic and classical vase-painting. For Ganymede and the eagle see Sichtermann 1 & also Ganymed. Mythos & Gestalt in der antiken Kunst (1953).

86.Homer Iliad 20.230-5. Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite 202-17.
On these and the other literary sources for the story see Arafat op cit n 85, 66-7 and Sichtermann 1 loc cit n 85, 154-5.

87.On pursuit scenes see Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit n 85; E Keuls The Reign of the Phallus 47-55; C Sourvinou-Inwood JHS 107 (1987), 131-53.

88.Ibykos Page op cit n 8, F289. Also Pindar Olympian 1.44 & 10.105: Thgn 1345-8.

89.Paris often carries a sceptre: for a list of such illustrations see Caskey-Beazley op cit n 2, 52-3.

90.Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite 202-17.

91.Cup, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University G3730, Douris, ca 490-80. ARV 445.251: Add 241: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 77.

92.Amphora, London, British Museum E330, Sabouroff Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 842.129: Para 423: Add 296: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 81.

Amphora, Paris, Cab Méd 373, Dionokles Painter, ca 470-60. ARV 648.33: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 80, pl 82.

Cup, once Vitet Collection, Penthesilea Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 882.34: Add 301: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 82.

93.For Paris with the lyre see, for example, cup, Berlin, Charlottenburg F2291, Makron, ca 490-80, ARV 459.4: Para 377: Add 244. Also Nolan amphora, London, British Museum E330, Sabouroff Painter, ca 460-50, ARV 842.129: Para 423: Add 296.

94.Dinochoe, New York, Metropolitan Museum 23.160.55, Pan Painter, ca 490-80. ARV 558.127, 1659: Para 387: Add 259: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 32.

95.For the sleeping figure as female, perhaps the young Hera, see P Hartwig Die griechischen Meisterschalen (1893), 617f; E Pottier Vases antiques du Louvre 3 (1922), 166f; E Paribeni EAA 7 (1966), 1261; E Kunze BWPr 100, 39.

96.Terracotta statue group, Olympia Museum, from Olympia, ca 470. LIMC IV, Ganymedes 56, pl 80.

97.Attic red-figure cup fr, Athens, Third Ephoreia 0.2 (=A5306), from Athens, Castelgiorgio Painter, ca 490-80. LIMC IV, Ganymedes 53.

98.Nolan amphora, Paris, Cab Méd 371, Manner of the Achilles Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 1001.2: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 47.

99.Kalpis, once Berlin, Staatl Mus F2634, Kadmos Painter, ca 410. ARV 1187.33: Add 341: LIMC IV, Ganymedes 70.

100. See, for example, a pelike in Orvieto, Mus Faina, by the Syleus Painter. ARV 251.25: Para 350.

The running boy figure bowling a hoop may also appear alone: see, for example, cup, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1886.587 (V300), Colmar Painter, ca 500, ARV 357.69: Para 363: Add 221. Also cup, Munich, Mus antiker Kleinkunst 2674, Makron, ARV 479.326: Add 247.

101. See H Patzer Die Griechische Knabenliebe (1982): F Buffière Eros Adolescent: La Pédérastie dans la Grèce antique (1980): KJ Dover Greek Homosexuality (1978). See also G Koch-Harnack Knabenliebe & Tiergeschenke (1983), 228-38.

102. For mortal serving boys in red-figure symposion scenes see, for example, stamnos, Munich, Mus antiker Kleinkunst 2410, Painter of the Louvre Symposion, ca 430, ARV 1069.1: Add 325. Also cup, London, British Museum E49, Douris, ca 485-80, ARV 432.52: Add 237.

103. Iliad 11.1-2; 20.230-8; Odyssey 5.1; Homeric Hymn 5 to Aphrodite 218-38; Ibykos - Page op cit n 8, F289; Euripides Troades 847-58.

104. For the iconography of Eos and Tithonos see C Weiss in LIMC III, Eos p 758-779; K Schefold Die Göttersage in der klassischen & hellenistischen Kunst (1981), 307-18; Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit n 85, 16-21; Brommer op cit n 2, 22-9; Caskey-Beazley op cit n 2, 37-8. On pursuit scenes generally see n 87.

105. Attic red-figure skyphos, Paris, Cab Méd 846, from Vulci, Pantoxenos Painter, ca 450-40. ARV 1050.1: Para 444: Add 321: LIMC III, Eos 182, pl 574.

106. The four vases are:-

- i. Cup, Malibu, Getty Museum 84.AE.569, Douris, ca 480. See catalogue no 131 & PL 96.
- ii. Twisted-handled amphora, Madrid, Mus Arch 11097, Epimedes Painter, ca 450-40. ARV 1043.2: LIMC III, Eos 97.
- iii. Bell-krater, Paris, Cab Méd 423, from Cumae, Group of Polygnotos, ca 450-40, ARV 1055.72: Add 322: LIMC III, Eos 100. PL 97a.
- iv. Kalyx-krater, Richmond, Virginia Museum 81.70, Nikias Painter, ca 410-400. See catalogue no 48.

For the iconography of Eos and Kephalos see Weiss loc cit n 104, with further bibliography on p 758: also see Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit n 85, 16-21.

107. For the vases showing a generally winged female running or flying and carrying a youth in her arms see LIMC III, Eos 267-75. Add also white-ground lekythos in Stockholm, Hallin Coll: E Kjellborg Eine Attische Darstellung von Eos & Kephalos.

The youth is inscribed as Kephalos on:-

- i. Cup, Berlin, Staatl Mus F2537, from Tarquinia, Kodros Painter, ca 430. ARV 1268.2, 1689: Para 471: Add 356: LIMC III, Eos 274, pl 578. PL 97b.
- ii. Lekythos, Madrid, Mus Arch 11158, Dionokles Painter, ca 470. ARV 649.45: Add 276: LIMC III, Eos 268, pl 577. PL 98a.

108. Pelike, St Petersburg, Hermitage 61595 (B731, St1683), from Capua, Lykaon Painter, ca 450-40. ARV 1045.5: Para 517: Add 320: LIMC III, Eos 98, pl 569.

109. See LIMC III, Eos 197-216 & Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit n 85, 90-91, nos 176-192.

110. Eos is inscribed with her name on the following vases:-

- i. Cup, Malibu, Getty Museum 84.AE.569, Douris, ca 480. See catalogue no 131 & PL 96.
- ii. Pelike, St Petersburg, Hermitage 61595, Lykaon Painter, ca 450-40. See n 108.
- iii. Skyphos, Paris, Cab Méd 846, Pantoxenos Painter, ca 450-40. See n 105 & PL 95b.
- iv. Twisted handled amphora, Madrid, Mus Arch 11097, Epimedes Painter, ca 450-40. See n 106.
- v. Hydria, Warsaw, Nat Mus 142261, Group of Brussels A3096, ca 440. ARV 1033.6: Para 443: Add 318: LIMC III, Eos 95.
- vi. Bell-krater, Paris, Cab Méd 423, Group of Polygnotos, ca 450-40. See n 106 & PL 97a.
- vii. Cup, Berlin, Staatl Mus F2537, Kodros Painter, ca 430. See n 107 & PL 97b.
- viii. Kalyx-krater, Richmond, Virginia Museum B1.70, Nikias Painter, ca 410-400. See catalogue no 48.

111. See, for example, stamnos in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.2034, near the Painter of the Florence Stamnoi, ca 480-70. ARV 509, 1657: LIMC III, Eos 139.

The Lewis Painter (Polygnotos II) three times depicts an unwinged female carrying off a boy who holds a lyre:-

- i. Skyphos, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College T520 b 2, ca 450-40. ARV 973.15: Add 309: LIMC III, Eos 271.
- ii. Skyphos, Matera, Mus Ridola 11957, ca 450-40. LIMC III, Eos 273.
- iii. Skyphos, Florence, Mus Arch 4228, ca 450-40. ARV 975.35: Add 309: LIMC III, Eos 272, pl 578.

112. See, for example, lekythos in Berlin, Staatl Mus F2210, Dresden Painter, second quarter of the fifth century. ARV 656.20: LIMC III, Eos 146.

See also skyphos in London, BM E143, Manner of the Lewis Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 975.2: LIMC III, Eos 168.

113. Winged woman with kerykeion pursuing boy with lyre on column-krater in Syracuse, Mus Reg 53237, Agrigento Painter, ca 470-60. ARV 575.15: Add 262: LIMC III, Eos 186, pl 574.

The winged female with kerykeion also appears chasing a hunter on a twisted handled amphora, Naples, Mus di Capodimonte, Group of Polygnotos, ca 440-30. ARV 1058.117: Add 323: LIMC III, Eos 132.

She also chases a youth with a club on column-krater in Bologna, Mus Civ 183 (DL7), Agrigento Painter, ca 470-60. ARV 575.14: Add 262: LIMC III, Eos 128.

And on a fragmentary cup of about 480-70 in Graz University, by the Painter of Louvre G265, a winged woman with kerykeion chases a boy who clutches what looks like a net or skin pouch. ARV 416.5: Add 234: LIMC III, Eos 231, pl 576.

It is possible that these scenes depict Iris chasing Ganymede, although the lyre, spears, club and net/skin pouch are not recognised attributes of Ganymede.

On the similarity of the iconography of Iris and Nike see Arafat op cit n 85, 59, 90, 97; BICS 33 (1986), 127-33.

114. See, for example:-

Dinochoe, Paris, Louvre G438, Achilles Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 992.77: LIMC III, Eos 171.

Hydria, London, British Museum E214, Painter of London E215, ca 450-40. ARV 1082.2: LIMC III, Eos 184.

Lekythos, Frankfurt, Mus für Kunsthandwerk KH5327, Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy, ca 490-80. ARV 423.120: Para 374: Add 235: LIMC III, Eos 137.

115. Fleeing youth with writing tablet, pursued by winged female:-

-Column-krater, Dublin, Nat Mus 1921.90, Mannerist workshop. LIMC III, Eos 196.

-Cup, Heidelberg University W34, Painter of London E777, ca 460-50. ARV 941.34: LIMC III, Eos 192.

-Bell-krater, Madrid, Mus Lazaro Galdiano, Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, ca 450-40. ARV 1090.45: LIMC III, Eos 193, pl 574.

-Bell-krater, Perugia, Mus Civ 78, Painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, ca 450-40. ARV 1090.44: Add 328: LIMC III, Eos 194, pl 574.

-Bell-krater, Paris, Louvre G492, Group of Polygnotos, ca 450-40. ARV 1054.55: Add 322: LIMC III, Eos 195.

116. Perhaps an exception is the Madrid lekythos by the Dionokles Painter where Kephalos stretches out his arms as if in a plea for help. See n 107.

117. Terracotta akroterion group from the Stoa Basileios, Athens Agora T1261, T3317, T3987. LIMC III, Eos 282.

For a list of Melian reliefs showing a winged woman carrying a youth see LIMC III, Eos 277 & 278, pl 578.

Gold arm band, St Petersburg, Hermitage K018 (426). LIMC III, Eos 279, pl 578.

A marble akroterion group of about 420-10 from the west pediment of the Athena Temple on Delos presents a slightly different composition, where the youth is hoisted higher on Eos' shoulder. LIMC III, Eos 280, pl 579.

118. Amyklaian throne, second half of the sixth century BC. Pausanias 3.18.12. See LIMC III, Eos 276.

For Etruscan architectural sculpture see Schefold op cit n 104.

119. Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit n 85, 43-7.

120. C Sourvinou-Inwood in Images et Société en Grèce Ancienne (Lausanne 1987), 51 & n 91: E Vermeule Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art & Poetry (1979), 162-6: J de la Genière in A Cambitoglou, ed Studies in Honour of AD Trendall (1979), 75-80.

121. See, for example, Kaempf-Dimitriadou op cit n 85, 57.

122. Lekythos rim, Paris, Louvre G614 (Cp3218), ca 420. LIMC III, Eos 275, pl 578.

123. Sourvinou-Inwood loc cit n 120: H Hoffmann Gnomon 52 (1980), 748-9.

124. On the iconography of Dionopion see C Gasparri in LIMC III, Dionysos IX, D: Schefold op cit n 16, 22-3; op cit n 104, 30-31: A Gallina in EAA V, Dionopion: F Magi ASA NS I-II (1942), 63ff, pl 1-15: K Keyssner in RE XVII, 2 (1937), 2272: E Worner in Roscher ML III, 1 (1897-1909), 791ff.

125. Attic black-figure neck-amphora, London, British Museum B210, Exekias, ca 525. ABV 144.7, 686: Para 60: Add 39.

There are also three Attic red-figure vases on which the name Oinopion is given to a satyr:-

- i. Bell-krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.85, Methyse Painter, ca 450. ARV 632.3: Add 272.
- ii. Bell-krater, Warsaw 142355, Lykaon Painter. ARV 1045.6: Add 320.
- iii. Kalyx-krater, Ruvo, Mus Jatta J1093, Kadmos Painter, end of the fifth century. ARV 1184.1: Para 460: Add 340.

126. Attic black-figure neck-amphora, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR27.1864 (G48), Manner of the Lysippides Painter, ca 510. ABV 259.17: Add 67.

127. Attic black-figure belly-amphorae, Amasis Painter, ca 550-40:-

- Munich, Antikenslg 1383. ABV 150.7: Para 63: Add 42.
- Munich, Antikenslg 8763. Para 65: Add 43.

128. Attic black-figure mastos cup, Würzburg 391, Mastos Painter, ca 520-10. ABV 262.45: Para 115: Add 68.

129. See chapter 2, p 92 & notes 26, 27 & 28.

130. Schefold op cit n 16, 31.

131. See chapter 3, p 206.

132. See p 279 on the further use of this general iconographic schema in red-figure.

133. Schol ad Hom Od 11.321.

For further ancient sources for Akamas and Demophon as sons of Theseus see LIMC I, Akamas and Demophon, p 435-6.

134. On the iconography of Akamas and Demophon see LIMC I, Akamas and Demophon, with further bibliography for the subject.

135. Diodorus 5.79.1: Plutarch Theseus 20: Pausanias 7.4.8: Schol ad Apoll Rhod 3.996.

136. Plutarch Theseus 20.

137. HRW Smith Der Lewis Maler (1939), 12-13.

138. Lekythos, Taranto 4545, near the Pan Painter, ca 480. ARV 560.5, 1659: Para 388: Add 259.

139. On the "pais amphithales" see M Golden Children & Childhood in Classical Athens (1990), p 30, & n 30. See also A Kauffman-Samaras in J Christiansen & T Melander, eds Proceedings of the Third Symposium on Ancient Greek & Related Pottery, Copenhagen 1987, 286-99: H Rühfel Kinderleben im klassischen Athen (1984), 107-14: A Depke Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 31 (1934), 42-56.

140. The following South Italian red-figure vases depict the Telephos-Orestes episode:-

1. Campanian bell-krater, Naples, Mus Naz 2293 (81.646), Io Painter, ca 350-25. LIMC I, Agamemnon 12: AD Trendall The Red-Figured Vases

of Lucania, Campania & Sicily I (1967), 259 no 220.

ii. Campanian hydria, Naples, Mus Naz RC141 (86.064), Ixion Painter, ca 330. LIMC I, Agamemnon 15, pl 193; Trendall 340 no 804, pl 133.4.

iii. Campanian lebes gamikos, Graz, Landesmus 8641/2, ca 350-25. Trendall 269 no 278, pl 108.5, 6.

iv. Lukanian bell-krater, Bari Museum 12531, Ragusa Painter, ca 370-60. LIMC I, Agamemnon 14, pl 193; Trendall LCS Suppl 2 (1973), 165 no 416d.

v. Lukanian kalyx-krater, London market, near the Policoro Painter, late fifth or early fourth century. Sotheby's cat New York 19.6.90 - Nelson Bunker Hunt & William Herbert Hunt Collections, no 14.

vi. Apulian kalyx-krater, Munich market, unpublished, fourth century. LIMC I, Agamemnon 14a.

vii. Lost Apulian vase, once Hamilton Collection. LIMC I, Agamemnon 16 & drawing on p 260.

viii. Apulian bell-krater fr, Noble Collection, ca 350. D von Bothmer Ancient Art from New York Private Collections (1961), no 254, pl 94.

ix. Italiote fr, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 2496. Brommer op cit n 2, 472.7; C Bauchhenss-Thürleidl Der Mythos von Telephos in der Antiken Bildkunst (1971), 88 no 59.

x. Paestan kalyx-krater, private collection & earlier Basel market, Asteas. EC Keuls in EYMOYΣIA: Studies Cambitoglou (1990), 92 & pl 21.1; Schauenburg (see below) 347 n 68 & pl 84.1.

Add also: xi. Faliscan kalyx-krater, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1970.487, Nazzano Painter, second quarter of the fourth century. LIMC I, Agamemnon 18, pl 193.

xii. Faliscan stamnos, Rome, Villa Giulia 6208, second quarter of the fourth century. LIMC I, Agamemnon 19, pl 194.

xiii. Etruscan column-krater, Berlin - Charlottenburg 30042, mid-fourth century. LIMC I, Agamemnon 17, pl 193; JD Beazley Etruscan Vase-Painting (1947), 66.

The influence of Euripides' Telephos is probably to be seen in all of these scenes: Telephos on the altar threatens the little Orestes with his sword, and Agamemnon rushes to the rescue; strangely on i Agamemnon stands passively by whilst Telephos menaces his son. Klytaimnestra is present in all the illustrations except i: viii is very fragmentary but traces of female clothing survive, and ix is also very fragmentary.

iii excerpts only the group of Telephos with Orestes on the altar.

On ii the child held upside down by one leg is an iconographic motif we have seen in use for Troilos and Astyanax.

On the iconography of the South Italian scenes see K Schauenburg RM 90 (1983), 339 ff & A Kossatz-Deissmann in HA Cahn & E Simon, eds Tainia: Festschrift Hampe (1978), 281-90.

141. On the iconography of the Orestes-Telephos story see EC Keuls in JP Descoeudres, ed EYMOYΣIA: Studies Cambitoglou (1990), 87-94; O Touchefeu in LIMC I, Agamemnon 11.c; Brommer op cit n 2, 471-2; C Bauchhenss-Thürleidl Der Mythos von Telephos in der Antiken Bildkunst (1971); TBL Webster Monuments Illustrating Tragedy & Satyr Play, BICS Suppl 20 (1967), 145, 164-5; JD Beazley-LD Caskey Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston III (1963), 54-7; H Metzger in Mélanges Picard II, RA 30 (1949), 746-51; Séchan op cit n 54, 120-7, 503-18; L Pollak Zwei Vasen aus der Werkstatt Hierons (1900), 5-27 & pls I-III & VI-VIII.

142. On the ancient literary sources for the myth see Bauchhenss-Thüriedl op cit n 141, 1-13; also F Schwenn in RE V (1934), 362-9 sv Telephos 1.

143. Cup, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.931, from eastern Etruria, Telephos Painter, ca 470-60. ARV B17.2: Para 420: Add 292. See also Pollak op cit n 141.

144. With regard to the tale as told in the Kypria see A Severyns Le cycle épique (1928), 291ff.

145. On Aischylos' Telephos see Séchan op cit n 54, 120-7.

146. Thukydides I.136-7. See also Plutarch Them 24.

On the parallels between the stories of Themistokles with Admetus' child and Telephos with Orestes, see Keuls op cit n 141, 89 & Séchan op cit n 54, 123-5.

147. On Euripides' lost Telephos see Séchan op cit n 54, 503-18: TBL Webster The Tragedies of Euripides (1967), 43-8. Also M Jouan Euripide (1967), 222-55 & EJ Handley-J Rea The Telephus of Euripides, BICS Suppl 5 (1957).

148. "Ὡ φοῖβ' Ἀπολλὼν Λύκιε, τί ποτὰ μ' ἐργάσῃ;" Nauck op cit n 74, 582 F700.

149. AD Trendall & TBL Webster Illustrations of Greek Drama (1971), III.3, 47: Webster op cit n 147.

Apollo is also present in three of the South Italian Telephos-Orestes scenes; n 140, nos x, xi & xii.

150. Webster op cit n 141, 165.

151. Aristophanes Acharnians 439 - "Τὸ πελίδιον περὶ τὴν Κεφαλὴν τὸ Μύδιον."

152. Squat lekythos decorated in relief, New York, Metropolitan Museum 28.57.9, mid-fourth century. Bauchhenss-Thüriedl op cit n 141, 88 no 55 (with further bibliography).

153. Aischylos Choeph 731f: Stesichoros - T Bergk Poetae Lyrici Graeci III (1882), 222 F41: Pherekydes - Jacoby op cit n 80, i 94 F134: Pindar Pythian 11, 17ff.

154. See also, for example, a kalpis in Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 259, by the Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris (name vase), ca 420-400. ARV 1315.1, 1690: Para 477: Add 362. This shows the Judgement of Paris in the upper frieze and Dionysos with satyrs and maenads below.

155. Hesiod F33 (Rzach op cit n 34). Stesichoros F26 (Bergk op cit n 153).

156. A Severyns Recherches sur la "Chrestomathie" de Proclos IV (1963), 100-1: "Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐνάζει τὴν Ἑλένην τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ--"

157. On the ancient sources for the rescue of Orestes on the occasion of the murder of Agamemnon, see n 153 & L Preller-C Robert Griechische Mythologie (1894-1921), II 1305-6.

158.Homer Odyssey 15.243-8: Apollodoros Bibl 3.6.2: Diodorus 4.65-66.3.

In Apollodoros, Amphiaraos charges both sons to slay their mother, whilst Diodorus specifies Alkmaion.

159.Pausanias 5.17.7-8.

160.Corinthian column-krater, once Berlin F1655, now lost, ca 570. LIMC I, Amphiaraos 7, pl 555.

161.See, for example, Attic black-figure lekanis lid frr, Athens, Nat Mus, Akropolis Coll 2112, C Painter, second quarter of the sixth century. ABV 58.120: Add 16: LIMC I, Amphiaraos 8, pl 556.

Although the C, or Corinthianising, Painter is so called because of his Corinthianising style of painting, it is interesting that he here also apparently adopts what is probably Corinthian-devised iconography for the departure of Amphiaraos. Similarly, in the case of his scene of the death of Troilos/Astyanax on a lekanis lid in Naples (see n 67), he may have introduced the motif of a little figure held upside down by a warrior from Corinthian iconography, where it had earlier appeared about 590. (see n 66)

162.Attic black-figure belly amphora (type A), Chiusi 1794, Priam Painter, ca 520. ABV 330.1: Para 146: Add 89: LIMC I, Amphiaraos 13, pl 557.

163.See, for example, Tyrrhenian amphora frr, Basel, Cahn Coll HC 921, second quarter of the sixth century. LIMC I, Amphiaraos 10, pl 556.

164.For a list of vases depicting the departure of Amphiaraos in Attic black-figure see LIMC I, Amphiaraos E. Also I Krauskopf in HA Cahn & E Simon, eds Tainia, Festschrift Hampe (1980), 105-16.

We have one Attic black-figure scene depicting the departure of Amphiaraos which dispenses with the chariot and which, in this, foreshadows the iconography of our red-figure depictions of the subject: lekythos, earlier Madrid, Salamanca Coll, third quarter of the sixth century. LIMC I, Amphiaraos 23, drawing on p 696.

On departure of warrior scenes generally see W Wrede AM 41 (1916), 221-374.

165.On the iconography of Alkmaion and the departure of Amphiaraos see I Krauskopf in LIMC I, Alkmaion; Amphiaraos: Brommer op cit n 2, 476-7: M Delcourt Oreste et Alcmeon (1959), 31-91.

166.See, for example, a Tyrrhenian amphora in Florence, Mus Arch 3773, Castellani Painter, second quarter of the sixth century. ABV 95.8: Para 34: Add 25: LIMC I, Amphiaraos 9, pl 556.

167.See, for example, white-ground lekythos, New York, Met Mus 08.258.18, Achilles Painter, ca 450-40. ARV 999.180: Para 438.

168.See also the same iconographic type used in genre scenes of a warrior or huntsman's departure on a stamnos in the British Museum E448, Achilles Painter, ca 450, ARV 992.65, 1677: Para 437: Add 311. Also on a krater in Tübingen University E104, Niobid Painter, ca 460, ARV 603.35: Add 267.

169. Attic red-figure stamnos, Basel market, ca 440. LIMC I, Amphiaraios 73a, pl 568.

170. Attic red-figure cup frr, Athens, Nat Mus, Akropolis Coll 336, Kleophrades Painter, ca 490-80. ARV 192.105: Add 189: LIMC I, Amphiaraios 73.

171. On the Amphiaraios-Eriphyle-Alkmaion theme in Classical drama see LIMC I, Alkmaion p 547.

172. Homer Iliad 6.130-40: Sophokles Antigone 955-63: Apollodoros Bibl 3.5.1.

On the ancient literary sources for the myth see Ph Bruneau & Cl Vatin BCH 90 (1966), 402-7.

173. On the iconography of the Lykourgos and Dryas theme see JR Green RA 1982, 241-4: Schefold op cit n 16, 186-8: Brommer op cit n 2, 503-4: M Robertson Greek, Roman & Byzantine Studies 13 (1972), 39-48: Trendall & Webster op cit n 149, III.1, 13-16: J Beazley Greek Vases in Poland (1928), 44-6: Séchan op cit n 54, 63-79: J Harrison Prolegomena (1922), 368-70: L Piotrowicz in Stromata...C Morawski (1908).

174. See, for example, Attic red-figure stamnos, once Berlin F2184 (now lost), Copenhagen Painter, ca 475-70, ARV 257.6, 1640: Para 351: Add 204. Also Attic red-figure stamnos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 91.227a & 91.226b, Berlin Painter, ca 470-65, ARV 208.151, 1652: Add 195.

Also see Prag op cit n 43, 88-91 for this type of figure attacking with the double axe, and for the double axe as a weapon.

175. On Aischylos' Lykourgeia see Nauck op cit n 74, 19ff: K Deichgräber Die Lykurgie des Aischylos, GGA 1939: Séchan op cit n 173.

176. On the South Italian scenes see Trendall & Webster op cit n 173: Brommer op cit n 173; MTSP2 139-40: Beazley op cit n 173, 44 n 3: Séchan op cit n 173.

177. Lykourgos kills both his son and wife in Hyginus Fab 132.

178. For the altar in the South Italian scenes see the Apulian kalyx-krater in the British Museum F271 by the Lykourgos Painter, ca 360-50. Séchan op cit n 54, 72 fig 21.

For the female statue in the South Italian scenes see the amphora in Naples H3219. Séchan op cit n 54, 74 fig 23.

179. Nauck op cit n 74, 20 F57. Aischylos II, Edonoi fr 27 (H Weir Smyth, H Lloyd-Jones, Loeb 1963).

180. My thanks go to Lesley Fitton for her help in tracing this vase, and to Difry Williams for a useful discussion of the scene.

181. Green op cit n 173, 242: Brommer op cit n 173: R Hampe GGA 1963, 138 no 11: H Metzger Les Représentations (1951), 263 n 3 (attributes interpretation of scene to Beazley).

182. Pyxis, London British Museum E775, from Etruria, Manner of the Meidias Painter, ca 400. ARV 1328.92: Add 364.

Volute-krater neck frr, Samothrace 65.1041, near the Pronomos

Painter, ca 400. Green op cit n 173, 238-44, fig 4.

183. Robertson op cit n 173.

184. AnthPal 16.127. Bruneau & Vatin op cit n 172, 406f.

185. Italiote amphora, Munich 3300 (J853). Brommer op cit n 173: Séchan op cit n 173.

186. Apulian hydria fr, Bryn Mawr, Ella Riegel Museum P1504. Green op cit n 173, 242-3 & fig 6.

187. Homer Odyssey 19.518-23.

188. Schol Od 19.518-23. See also Pherekydes in FG Sturz Pherecydes Fragmenta (1789), frag on p 138.

189. Thukydides 2.29: for Sophokles' Tereus see Pearson op cit n 54, 221ff: Apollodoros Bibl 3.14.8.

On the ancient literary sources for the story see NJ Zaganianis Platon 25 (1973), 208-32.

190. On the iconography of the Itys story see Schefold op cit n 2, 42-3, 73-5: BA Sparkes in C Boulter, ed Greek Art, Archaic into Classical (1985), 29-33 & pls 34-6: Brommer op cit n 2, 269-70: JE Harrison JHS 8 (1887), 439-445.

191. Kalpis, Prague University 60.31, Nekyia Painter, ca 450. Schefold op cit n 2, 43: J Bazant CVA 1 (1978), 46 & pl 36.2, 37.4: Brommer op cit n 2, 269.

192. Alkamenes' statue of Prokne and Itys. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1358.2789, ca 425. Pausanias 1.24.3. See WH Schuchhardt Alkamenes, 126 Winckelmannsprog (1977).

193. For the Cahn/Williams and von Bothmer attributions see Sparkes loc cit n 190, 33.

194. On Sophokles' Tereus see Pearson op cit n 189. On the date of Tereus see Calder 90-91 and L Gernet in Mélanges O Navarre (1935), 207-17.

195. Attic silver cup showing Tereus, Philomela and Prokne, St Petersburg 572E, ca 420. K Schefold RM 46 (1931), 119 ff, fig 1f.

196. For the South Italian vase-paintings of the subject see E Simon in Fest des Kronberg-Gymnasiums Aschaffenburg (1968), 155ff: M Bieber AM 50 (1925), 11-18.

197. The following Attic vases of the early fifth century probably show Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela:-

i. Red-figure hydria fr, Reggio 27202, Altamura Painter. ARV 594.55: Add 265. Interpretation of scene certain through inscription TEPE[EV\$].

ii. Red-figure skyphos frr, Taranto, Syriskos Painter. ARV 266.88.

iii. Red-figure cup, Florence 80565, Thorvaldsen Group. ARV 455u: Para 377.

iv. Red-figure column-krater, Agrigento. R Griffo Il Museo Civico di

- Agrigento (1952), 28 fig 7.
v.Black-figure neck-amphora, Naples, Diosphos Painter. ABV 510.25.
- 198.Metope from the Temple of Apollo at Thermon, Athens, National Museum 13410. See K Schefold Myth & Legend in Early Greek Art (1966), pl 20.
- 199.On the ancient sources for the myth see C Robert Oidipus (1915): Höfer in Roscher ML Oidipus 703-11.
- 200.On the Oidipus theme in fifth century drama see Robert op cit n 199, & Höfer in Roscher ML Oidipus 711-15.
- 201.On Oidipus and the sphinx in vase-painting see JM Moret Dedipe, La Sphinx et les Thébains (1984).
- 202.Bell-krater frr, Adria Bc104, Polygnotos. ARV 1029.19: Para 442: Add 317.
- 203.Homer Iliad 2.511-16: 13.516-25. Pausanias 9.37.7.
See also LIMC II, Astyoche for the ancient literary sources.
- 204.On the iconography of the children of Astyoche see LIMC II, Astyoche: I Wehgartner Attisch Weissgrundige Keramik (1983), 40: R Engelmann JdI 17 (1902), 68-71, pl 2.
- 205.Attic red-figure alabastron, Providence, Rhode Island School of Design 25.088, from Greece, Villa Giulia Painter, ca 460-50. ARV 624.88: Add 271: LIMC II, Astyoche 3.
- 206.E Simon LIMC II, Astyoche 3.
- 207.Wehgartner op cit n 204, 40: G Neumann Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst (1965), 125-8, figs 60-61.
For a similar gesture of alarm and powerful emotion whereby a woman covers her mouth, see the departure of warrior scene on a red-figure stamnos whose details are given in n 169.
- 208.For the use of the iconographic schema of a child carried on the arm of an adult figure and resting his head in three-quarter or frontal view on the shoulder of his guardian see G Neumann AM 79 (1964), 137-44.
- 209.E Simon in Boulter loc cit n 190, 72-3 attributes the vase to the Copenhagen Painter, whom she believes in his late phase to be the same artist as the Aigisthos Painter.
- 210.On the iconography of the death of Aigisthos see Prag op cit n 43, 10-34.
- 211.For Kinaithon see Pausanias 2.18.6 and M Davies Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (1988), F4.
- 212.Prag op cit n 43, 106-7.
- 213.On the ancient literary sources for, and the iconography of Aletes and Erigone see respectively LIMC I, Aletes and III, Erigone II.

214.RM Gais LIMC III, Erigone II, commentary.

215.Our ancient literary sources for Aletes are unfortunately mostly lost or late.

For the lost drama Aletes, attributed to Sophokles (Stob) see Nauck op cit n 74, 151-3 F97-103.

Hyginus Fab 122.3 tells us that Orestes killed Aletes when the latter had taken the throne of Mycenae.

See also E Simon LIMC I, Aletes.

216.The story is told in Apollodoros Bibl 3.1.2 & 3.3.1-2.

On the ancient literary sources see LIMC IV, Glaukos II.

217.Glaukos's resuscitation by Polyidos was treated by Aischylos in Kressae (Nauck op cit n 74, 38-9 F113-8), by Sophokles in Μέγραι (Polyidos) (Nauck op cit n 74, F389a-400) and by Euripides in Polyidos (Nauck op cit n 74, 558-63, F634-646 & F358-68).

218.O Palagia in LIMC IV, Glaukos II.

219.A Griffiths JHS 106 (1986), 58-70, pls I-III. L Burn AntK 28 (1985), 93-105, pls A & 23-7. Griffiths believes the subjects of the other two white-ground cups, British Museum D6 (ARV 763.1: Fara 415: Add 286) and D7 (ARV 763.3: Add 286), are respectively the Hesperides picking apples and the punishment of Orion for his attack on Artemis. Burn believes that the subject matter of all three cups has the common theme of honey; namely Glaukos, honey nymphs picking apples and Eurydike's death by snake bite whilst being pursued by Aristaos, the original bee-keeper.

E Simon in Boulter loc cit n 190, 77-8 less convincingly interprets D7 as Aisakos and Hesperie and, suggesting that the thematic links between the three cups are nymphs and a seer, proposes that the cups might have been used for soothsaying or in the cult of the nymphs. But this reasoning seems to ignore the funerary purpose for which the cups were apparently made.

The fragmentary cup D7 which shows a giant, smoke-breathing snake rising out of the reeds against a rudely-dressed countryman, whilst a woman has fallen to the ground in front of him used to be thought to show the death of the infant Opheltes/Archemoros, but this has been proved not to be so. (See Griffiths 63 and Burn 95-6.) In fact, the death of Opheltes is absent from extant Attic vase-painting, though the story was known in Euripides' Hypsipyle and earlier in Bacchylides. (IX.12-14) It does, however, appear in South Italian red-figure: see Brommer op cit n 2, 478: LIMC II, Archemoros.

220.On the equation between Glaukos' death, entombment, resurrection and release from the tomb and the social exclusion and military training of Knossian ephebes and their subsequent social reintegration as citizens see Burn op cit n 219, 102-3: P Callaghan BSA 73 (1978), 1-30: RF Willetts Klio 37 (1959), 21-8: H Jeanmaire Couroi et Courètes (1939), 444-50.

221.Hyginus Fab 70 & 99.

222.On the iconography of Atalanta see J Boardman in LIMC II, Atalante.

223.M Brouskari LIMC I, Alkyone II.

224.Pausanias 4.2.7.

225.Apollodoros Bibl 1.8.1.

226.Apollodoros Bibl 1.8.2: Ovid Met 8.299ff.

227.Homer Iliad 9.529-99.

228.Aischylos' Choephoroi 602-11: Apollodoros Bibl 1.8.1-3: Diodorus Siculus 4.34: Ovid Met 8.270ff: Hyginus Fab 171-4.

Pausanias 10.31.3-4 tells us that Phrynikos wrote the earliest drama on the non-Homeric tale (-on Phrynikos' Pleuroniae see Nauck op cit n 74, 721 F6-), but infers that this myth variant was even older than Phrynikos.

Bacchylides Epinic 5.93ff combines the Homeric and non-Homeric versions: he says that the Aitolians and Kuretes fought over the boar's spoils and that in this fight Meleager accidentally killed his uncles. Althaia, however, did not regard the matter as an accident, and caused her son's death by destroying the fire brand.

229.For Euripides' Meleager see Nauck op cit n 74, 525.

For Sophokles' drama see Pearson op cit n 54, 64ff.

Aischylos, furthermore, wrote an Atalanta, but nothing is known about its contents.

230.See, for example, pyxis, Athens, Nat Mus TE 1623, ca 460. H Rühfel Antike Welt 19 (1988), 50 fig 10.

There are also several red- and black-figure examples of boys and youths riding "piggy-back" style as they play "ephedrismos" or other games: see L Deubner in Die Antike 1930, pl 17 & fig 26.

231.On the role of nurse in Classical Athens see M Golden Children & Childhood in Classical Athens (1990), 147-9, 152-3: Rühfel op cit n 230. 43-57: Sister Mary Rosaria The Nurse in Greek Life (Diss, Catholic University of America, 1917). For a survey of the roles of nurses and pedagogoi in tragedy see D Bassi Dioniso 9 (1942-3), 80-87.

232.On infanticide in red-figure see AF Laurens in Dialogues d'histoire ancienne (1984), 203-241.

See also DB Redford Numen 14 (1967), 209-228.

233.R Garland The Greek Way of Life (1990), 89 suggests that the offspring of an adulterous liaison between a mortal woman and a god may have been an analogy for the occurrence of illegitimacy in Athenian society, which may have led to the exposure of the children.

234.On exposure and the practice of infanticide see Garland op cit n 233, 84-93: Golden op cit n 231, 86-90; Phoenix 35 (1981), 316-31: C Patterson TAPhA 115 (1985), 103-23: SB Pomeroy in Cameron & Kuhrt. eds Images of Women in Antiquity (1983), 207-22: WV Harris CQ ns 32 (1982), 114-16: D Engels CP 75 (1980), 112-20: PE Easterling YCS 25 (1977), 177-91: LRF Germain Recueils Jean Bodin 35 (1975), 211-46: A Cameron CR 46 (1932), 105-14: van Hook, La Rue TAPhA 51 (1920), 134-45.

CHAPTER 5

HEROIC FEMALE CHILDREN

Introduction

Heroic female children are almost non-existent in preserved Attic vase-painting. In this chapter I shall examine the occasional possible exceptions, showing that in this handful of cases uncertainty exists either about the identity of the child, or with regard to the iconography of the youthful figure in terms of its age. In conclusion I shall try to suggest an explanation for this state of affairs.

The "birth" of Helen is a subject several times represented in Attic red-figure vase-painting from about 430 BC to the very early fourth century.¹ These scenes show the egg lying on an altar in the presence of Leda and the Dioskouroi and/or Tyndareus. Sometimes Hermes or the eagle of Zeus also appears. Except for two possible exceptions, the egg has never hatched and the infant Helen is invisible. One of these possible exceptions is found on a lekythos in Berlin. (194) (PL 117a) This too shows a woman gazing at an egg which rests on an altar, but this time the egg is much larger and visible within the yolk is a naked baby with a string of amulets slung round its chest, depicted in crawling pose and stretching out its arms in the direction of the woman. The infant's genitals, at least in published photographs of the vase, are not discernible, and it is difficult to determine the sex of the child. The iconographic type of the naked crawling baby, stretching out its arms to some object or figure before it, is one we have seen used for Kephalos (59) (PL 38), Eumolpos (63) (PL 40c) and Hippothoon (65) (PL 41b) and is also a type commonly employed for mortal children on choes of the late fifth and fourth centuries. (see ch 3, n 83) However, whilst the mortal female infants on the choes are often distinguished as girls by their hairstyle, with a bun piled on the top or back of the head,² the child in question on our Berlin lekythos sports the regular shoulder-length baby boy's coiffure. An alternative male identity for the child is Enorches who, as son of Thyestes and his sister Daito, was also born from an egg.³ However, we have no other vase-

paintings of this subject, and the interpretation of our lekythos scene remains uncertain.

Our second possible Attic red-figure representation of the infant Helen is said by Beazley to decorate a pyxis fragment of about 450 BC in Reggio Calabria.⁴ He describes it as showing "an altar, and on it the child Helen creeping out of a half egg-shell; then, on the right, the legs of a woman in chiton and himation - Leda - standing to left." (195) However, the fragment has never been published,⁵ and it is difficult to comment further on the piece. If this is Helen, not only is it the only Attic picture in which the little girl is seen issuing from the egg,⁶ it is also our earliest illustration of the birth of Helen story, pre-dating by some twenty years our first scenes of the unhatched egg lying on the altar.

Our only certain Attic red-figure representation of a mythological female child, which is found on an amphora of about 460 by the Niobid Painter (196) (PL 117b), cannot be securely identified. The scene shows Artemis chasing a woman who carries a little girl on one arm.⁷ The child, who is very much a miniature woman, is distinguished as female by her mode of dress; spotted chiton, himation and matching spotted cap. Beazley suggests (ARV 604.51) that the picture represents Artemis chasing Niobe with one of her children. This, however, seems unlikely: our handful of Attic red-figure scenes which depict the death of the Niobids at the hands of Artemis all show the Niobids as youthful, but

apparently fully-grown figures.⁸ Furthermore, whilst the Niobid Painter in his well-known and assured representation of the subject on a kalyx-krater in the Louvre,⁹ shows Artemis in similar fashion as on 196, he depicts the Niobids as youths or young men and women. An alternative interpretation, put forward by RM Cook, K Schefold and AD Trendall, is that our vase shows Artemis chasing Kallisto with the infant Arkas.¹⁰ Although this subject is found on fourth century Greek coins and in South Italian red-figure,¹¹ we have no evidence for it elsewhere in Attic vase-painting and, more importantly, since the child on our amphora is female, she cannot be Arkas. Our sole Attic red-figure mythological female child therefore remains anonymous.

The only other possible infant heroine in Attic red-figure is found on a skyphos fragment by the Lewis Painter in Reggio Calabria.¹² Again, like our pyxis fragments which may show the baby Helen, (195) this piece has never been published, and we must rely on Beazley's description:

"hand extended, open, to right: then on a lower level the upper part of a female child, in chiton and saccos looking round to left, left arm extended to right; then the hand of a woman holding her garment at the shoulder."

Beazley suggests that the subject of the fragment might be compared to that decorating a small black-figure neck-amphora by the Diosphos Painter. (ch 1, n 2) Here we see a bearded man holding up a diminutive peplos-clad female figure in front of him: a woman holds out fillets towards

the child and Hermes moves off to right. The little figure is very stiff-limbed and, looking rather like a small statue, stretches out her arms before her. If, however, she is a child, she could perhaps be Artemis (as Beazley thought, ABV 509.121), Athena or Atalanta, since this heroine wrestles Peleus on the other side of the vase.

The Lewis Painter decorated another skyphos which, at first glance, apparently presents us with the figure of a small girl.¹³ This interpretation, however, on closer examination is probably to be rejected. The surface of the skyphos is badly worn, but preserves the eroded figures of two women standing either side of a little female figure veiled in its mantle. As HRW Smith has pointed out, were it not for the small stature of this figure, we should interpret it from its mode of dress as a bride or matron.¹⁴ Noting that the other side of the skyphos shows a seated woman with phiale and sceptre accompanied by a winged female, and suggesting that they might be Hera and Nike, Smith goes on to moot related religious significance for our scene. He proposes that we may have here an illustration of the celebration either of the cult of Samian Hera or Kithaironian Hera (Plataia), at whose festivals respectively a xoanon or xoana were dressed as brides. The vase was painted about 470, at a time when the Greek victories in the battles of Mykale and Plataia in 479 would still have been fresh in the mind, and the presence of the proposed Nike and Hera figures on the other side of the skyphos would accord well with these events. If our scene reflects the cult of

Hera, then the little female figure is most likely a draped xoanon.

We now turn to mythological female characters who in Attic vase-painting are given a particularly youthful, "adolescent" appearance through their diminished stature. However, as in the case of the last scene, diminished stature alone cannot be interpreted as indicating immaturity and, as we shall see, may be attributable to factors other than the representation of youth.

A red-figure oinochoe of about 430-20 BC, probably by the Schuwalov Painter, presents a rare scene of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia.¹⁵ (PL 118a) We see Iphigeneia, dressed in chiton, being forced by a warrior towards an altar of stones, where a second man - perhaps Agamemnon - stands waiting with a dagger in his hand. Standing by is Artemis, holding the little deer that she will substitute at the last minute for the human sacrifice. Iphigeneia is markedly smaller in stature than the other figures in the scene. Is this meant to indicate her tender years, or is it a device used by the vase-painter to rouse the viewer's compassion for the helpless victim, in the same way that I have suggested Onesimos exploits pathos in his scene of the murder of Troilos by depicting the Trojan hero as a slight, boyish figure. (see p 312) The heroine seems not to possess the womanly feature of breasts, but the damaged state of the vase makes it difficult to be sure: her face also does not survive. Our only other Attic vase showing the sacrifice of

Iphigeneia is a white-ground lekythos decorated in outline by Douris.¹⁶ There she is led to sacrifice by a warrior with a sword in his hand who is inscribed Teukros, and she is depicted on the same scale as the other characters in the scene.¹⁷ Since Iphigeneia was brought to Aulis on the pretext that she was there to be married to Achilles,¹⁸ then if her diminished stature in the Schuwalov Painter's scene is meant to indicate her youth, she can perhaps be interpreted as the adolescent heroic female equivalent of the ephebic male, temporarily suspended in a liminal state, since it is through marriage that the girl will pass to womanhood. (see p 23-4) The parallel between marriage and death in classical antiquity, both of which marked a transitional phase between two states, has several times been drawn,¹⁹ and it is interesting to note that the only human sacrifices depicted in classical Greek art are those of Iphigeneia and Polyxena,²⁰ both of whom suffered their grisly fate as brides of Achilles.

The story of Tydeus, who came so close to being granted immortality, is shown on two Attic red-figure bell-kraters. Apollodoros tells us that Tydeus was wounded by Melanippos in the fighting before Thebes.²¹ As Tydeus lay dying, Athena brought him a medicine with which she planned to make him immortal. But Amphiaraos sabotaged her plans by cutting off the head of Melanippos and giving it to Tydeus, who sucked out the brains: Athena as a result was so disgusted that she withheld the gift of immortality from the hero.

The earlier of the two vases depicting the story is by the Eupolis Painter and dates to about 450 BC (PL 118b): the second was decorated around 430-20.²² (PL 119a) Both show Tydeus seated on a rock, the decapitated head of Melanippos beside him, and Athena leading away a girl or young woman by the hand. The later bell-krater preserves the name of this figure, ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΑ. Apollodoros says that Athena planned to make Tydeus immortal with a drug or medicine (φάρμακον) and neither, as far as we can tell, do the earlier literary sources seem to have personified the gift of immortality in the way that the vase-painters have done.²³ Our red-figure Athanasia is appropriately depicted as a youthful figure, smaller in stature than Athena. But, again, it is unclear whether her diminished stature is meant to indicate her particular youth, since her size may also be relative to her lesser status by the side of the goddess Athena, and as Tydeus is seated he provides no further clue.²⁴

The rape of Cassandra by Ajax is a popular theme in Attic black-figure vase-painting, and in many of these scenes the heroine is depicted as a tiny draped or naked figure.²⁵ Although her diminutive stature may once again be intended to emphasise her youth and vulnerability, her miniature size probably has more to do with the structure of the picture composition, since only a limited space is available for the figure of Cassandra between the armed Ajax attacking from left and Athena striding to left holding a large shield in front of her. The artists of the red-figure

style, however, devised a different solution to this problem, gradually reducing the size of the Athena figure to transform her into a small archaic statue, and thereby creating a larger space in which they could concentrate on depicting a full-scale *Kassandra*.²⁶ Nonetheless, our earliest red-figure representation of the subject, on a plate painted by *Paseas* about 520-10 BC, retains the black-figure schema with some modifications.²⁷ (PL 119b) *Paseas* has reversed the composition so that *Ajax* attacks from right and *Kassandra*, instead of running towards *Athena*, is already being dragged away from the goddess by the warrior.²⁸ Freed from the limitations of the black-figure technique, this has permitted *Paseas* to show *Kassandra* overlapping the reverse side of *Athena*'s shield, looping her arm over that of the goddess's as she attempts to gain divine protection. Given that the available space here would have allowed the depiction of *Kassandra* as a larger figure, should we then understand her still small figure as representing a young girl? I think not since *Paseas*, though introducing his own modifications into the composition, was essentially following the old black-figure formula. Furthermore, apart from her reduced height, the iconography of *Paseas*' naked *Kassandra* with her breasts quite clearly depicted, is otherwise that of a woman. Perhaps her *delictae* size is intended to emphasise the helplessness of her plight and the atrocity of the deed committed by *Ajax*.

Finally, we come to *Anesidora/Pandora*, who appears as a girlish figure between the larger figures of *Athena* and

Hephaistos in the white-ground tondo of a cup decorated by the Tarquinia Painter about 465 BC.²⁹ (PL 120) Pandora/Anesidora is not a commonly occurring figure in the extant corpus of Greek art, and she appears only three other times in Attic vase-painting.³⁰ On these vases, all red-figure, she seems to appear at her epiphany as a woman, depicted the same size as the other figures in the scene.³¹ Her smaller stature in the tondo of the Tarquinia Painter's cup is therefore as likely to emphasise her mortal status in the presence of her divine companions, as it is to indicate her youthfulness.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus we can conclude that our only certain Attic red-figure representation of a mythological female child is that by the Niobid Painter where Artemis chases a woman carrying a little girl, a child who, at least for the present, must remain anonymous. (196) (PL 117b) The other proposed female infant figures, Helen (194-PL 117a, 195), the diminutive veiled figure on the Lewis Painter's skyphos (n 13), and the Diosphos and Lewis painters' infant (?)Artemis, (?)Atalanta or (?)Athena (n 12, & ch 1 n 2) may, as we have seen, find alternative interpretations: respectively, Enorches instead of Helen, a draped xoanon, and a small statue. When we turn to possible adolescent heroines in red-figure, we can conclude little more about their iconography than that it conveys a general impression of youth: their diminished stature alone is an unreliable clue to their age or life-stage. Whilst in the case of Pandora and Athanasia their reduced size may be due as much to their lesser importance in the presence of divine characters as to their own particular youth, Cassandra's diminished stature is probably a consequence of the limited compositional space available for the depiction of her figure. If Iphigeneia's small physique is meant to imply that she is a young girl, her otherwise indistinct iconography in terms of her age would seem to correspond with her equally liminal social status as a girl approaching what was supposed to be the marriage which would have bestowed womanhood upon her.

Yet, if we turn to Attic red-figure representations of mortal children, girls, both infant and adolescent, though not as numerous as boys, are common enough.³² Furthermore, when girls do appear in mythological scenes, they too are apparently mortal; take, for example, the young fleeing girl carrying a phiale in both of the Niobid Painter's scenes of the death of Priam, a girl who is perhaps best interpreted as a Trojan maidservant or little priestess. (121-PL 75a, ch 4 p 298-300 & n 45)³³ What could be the explanation for this discrepancy between the depiction of mortal and heroic female children? One could argue that child heroines are almost non-existent in Attic vase-painting because they are similarly absent from classical Greek mythology.³⁴ But then we have to ask why, when we have mythological stories about the trials and fate of so many heroic male children, do we lack analogous tales about the young Greek heroines?

I have already observed in my conclusions to chapter two, that while at their birth the gods are represented as children, the goddesses are born in their adult state. I have also there suggested that since women and children were considered to be inferior and subservient sections of Athenian society, having no part in the official citizen life of fifth century Athens, to be represented as both female and a child was an imponderable indignity to lay on a Greek goddess, and one which would have made her seem all too human. It seems reasonable to extend the same explanation to the absence of heroic female children in Greek myth and vase-painting of the fifth century.

NOTES

1. For lists of the Attic red-figure representations see EH Loeb Die Geburt der Götter (1979) 185-92, 345-52; F Brommer Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage (1973), 514-5; H Metzger Les Représentations (1951), 28, 277-86; J Beazley Etruscan Vase-Painting (1947), 39-42 with addenda to his list in LD Caskey-JD Beazley Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston III (1963), 70-73; F Chapoutier BCH 66-7 (1942-3), 1-21; R Kekule SbBerl 22 (1908), 691-703.

See further on the iconography of the birth of Helen LIMC IV, Hélène section 1; K Arafat Classical Zeus (1990), 58-9; K Schefold Die Göttersage in der klassischen & hellenistischen Kunst (1981), 242-7; J Moreau Das Trier Kornmarktmosaik. Monumenta Artis Romana 2 (1960), 7-32; D Mustilli ASA 8-10 (1946-8), 123-31; K Kerényi Die Geburt der Helena (1945), 9-29.

2. For such girl babies on choes see Athens, Nat Mus 1739 & 14532, G Van Hoorn Choes & Anthesteria (1951), figs 278 & 279.

3. On Enorches see LIMC III, Enorches.

4. Caskey-Beazley op cit n 1, 72.

5. Nor was the Beazley Archive able to help.

6. Fourth century South Italian vase-painting shows Helen emerging from the egg. See LIMC IV, Hélène 5-9 inclusive and J Chamay in EYMOYΣIA: Studies Cambitoglou (1990), 231-5.

7. For iconographic parallels with this child-carrying, fleeing woman see ch 2, p 92-3 & ch 4, p 335 n 7, 401-2.

8. On the iconography of the death of the Niobids see LIMC II, Artemis section IX.3.1; Schefold op cit n 1, 159-70; RM Cook Niobe and her Children, an Inaugural Lecture (1964); C Clairmont AntK 6 (1963), 23-32; E Löwy JdI 47 (1932), 47-68; E Langlotz Antike 4 (1928), 31-41.

9. Kalyx-krater, Paris, Louvre 6341, Niobid Painter, ca 450. ARV 601.22; Para 395; Add 266; LIMC II, Artemis 1348, pl 557.

10. AD Trendall in LIMC II, Arkas; Schefold op cit n 1; Cook op cit n 8.

11. For the iconography of Arkas see LIMC II, Arkas.

12. Skyphos fragment, Reggio Calabria, Mus Naz, from Lokri, Lewis Painter (Polygnotos II). ARV 973.3 bis.

13. Red-figure skyphos, Berlin, Staatl Mus 2317, Lewis Painter (Polygnotos II), ca 470. ARV 972.1.

14. HRW Smith Der Lewismaler (1939), 10-11.

15. Dinochoe, Kiel, University 8538, probably by the Schuwalov Painter, ca 430-20. LIMC V, Iphigeneia 1, pl 466 & drawing on p 708.

16. Attic white-ground lekythos, Palermo, Mus Reg NI 1886, Douris, ca 470. ARV 446.226; Add 241; LIMC V, Iphigeneia 3, pl 466 & drawing on p 710.

17. On the iconography of Iphigeneia see LIMC V, Iphigeneia; L Kahil in L Kahil & P Linant de Bellefonds Religion, Mythologie, Iconographie (1991), 183-196.

18. On the ancient sources for the myth see LIMC V, Iphigeneia.

19. On the equation between death and marriage see R Seaford JHS 107 (1987), 106-30; J Prag Oresteia (1985), 61-7; I Jenkins BICS 30 (1983), 137-45; HP Foley Arethusa 15 (1982), 168-73; J Redfield Arethusa 15 (1982), 188-191; A Brelich Paides et Parthenoi (1969), 242-9.

20. The death of Polyxena appears on a fragmentary cup by Makron, Louvre G153; ARV 460.14; Add 244.

Also on a Megarian bowl, Athens, Nat Mus 14624; Hausmann Hellenistische Reliefbecher (1959), 36 no 25, pl 35-37.

21. Apollodoros Bibl 3.6.8.

22. Lost bell-krater, once Rome market (Rosi), Eupolis Painter, ca 450. ARV 1073.4; Add 325; LIMC II, Athanasia 1, drawing on p 954.

Bell-krater frr, New York, Metropolitan Museum 12.229.14, ca 430-20. LIMC II, Athanasia 2, pl 702.

23. For a discussion of the literary sources see J Beazley JHS 67 (1947), 1-7.

On the personification of Athanasia see A Shapiro Personifications (PhD, Princeton 1976), 109-12, 181.

24. On the iconography of Athanasia see LIMC II, Athanasia; Beazley loc cit n 23.

25. See, for example:-

- amphora, Trieste S454, ca 550-25, LIMC I, Aias II, 22, pl 255.

- amphora, Würzburg 249, Painter of Berlin 1686, ca 540, ABV 296.10;

Para 128; Add 78.

- amphora, Krefeld 32/1911, Manner of the Princeton Painter, ABV 300.7, Add 79.

26. On the iconography of Ajax and Cassandra scenes see SB Matheson in Getty Vases 3 (1986), 101-14; LIMC I, Aias II, pp 336-51, pls 253-68; JM Moret L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italique (1975), 9-28; Brommer op cit n 1, 382-6; PE Arias RivistaArch ns 4 (1955), 95-178; J Davreux La légende de la prophétesse Cassandre (1942); Caskey-Beazley op cit n 1, 62-5.

27. Plate, New Haven, Yale University 1913.169, Paseas, ca 520-10. ARV 163.4; Add 182; LIMC I, Aias II, 51, pl 260.

28. It is here worth noting the loose iconographic similarities between the group of Ajax and Cassandra on Paseas' plate and the group of (?)Prokne and Itys in a cup tondo of about 490 by Makron (185): on both the small victim is lifted up or dragged away by the arms, and is depicted with torso in frontal view and head turned back to left.

29.Cup, London, British Museum D4, Tarquinia Painter, ca 465. ARV 869.55: Para 426: Add 299: LIMC I, Anesidora 1, pl 642.

30.On the iconography of Pandora/Anesidora see LIMC I, Anesidora (with further bibliography); Arafat op cit n 1, 60-62 (with further bibliography); Loeb op cit n 1, 142-64; C Berard Anodoi (1974), 161-4.

31.Kalyx-krater, London, British Museum E467, Niobid Painter, ca 460. ARV 601.23: Add 266: LIMC I, Anesidora 2, pl 642.

Crocodile-rhyton fr, London, British Museum E789, Sotades Painter, ca 460. ARV 764.9: LIMC I, Anesidora 3.

Volute-krater, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 525, ca 450. ARV 1562.4.

32.For examples of mortal infant girl children see n 2.

For examples of older mortal female children see, for example, kalpis, London, British Museum E185, Phiale Painter, ca 435-30, ARV 1019.86: Add 315. White-ground lekythos, Athens, Nat Mus 12771, Timokrates Painter, ca 460-50, Para 521: Add 284.

33.Further examples of apparently mortal/non-heroic girl children in mythological scenes can be found on:-

-Nolan amphora, New York, Met Mus 56.171.41, Ethiop Painter, ca 450.

ARV 666.12: Para 404: Add 278. Little girl clings to the statue of Athena from behind as Ajax tries to pull away Cassandra.

-skyphos, Vienna, Kunsthist Mus 3710, Brygos Painter, ca 490. ARV 380.171, 1649: Para 366: Add 227. Priam approaching Achilles is accompanied by, amongst others, two little maidservants of different ages. Note the well-differentiated ages of the figures in this scene.

34.Later, the infant Artemis on Zeus' lap is described in Kallimachos' hymn. (Hymn to Artemis 4-5) The infant Artemis also appears in at least two fourth century sculptural groups. However, by the fourth century more liberal social attitudes towards women and children had taken root and were, in turn, being reflected in art. See further ch 2, p 111-13 & n 59.

CONCLUSIONS

Divine and heroic children are represented on vases throughout the whole of the red-figure period, finding their phase of greatest popularity between about 490-40. Only non-Attic mythological children - namely, Achilles, Astyanax, Askanios and Alkmaion - had previously been depicted with any frequency in black-figure and even then, with the exception of Achilles, were present only as secondary or non-essential elements of the scene. Red-figure witnesses a great increase both in the frequency and range of mythological childhood scenes. Children, furthermore, now frequently form the focus of the composition. Most popular in red-figure are the childhood myths of Dionysos, Erichthonios, Herakles, Perseus and the Trojan princes Ganymede and Astyanax, who between them account for two-thirds of the total of one hundred and ninety six vases listed in the catalogue. The vase shapes most frequently decorated with mythological childhood scenes are kraters and cups; pelikai and hydriai are also favoured. Surprisingly, in view of their popularity for scenes of mortal childhood, choes and squat lekythoi account for only eight of the catalogue entries. (see p 461, table 1)

I have, where appropriate, discussed the possible sources of inspiration for the representation of particular mythological children in red-figure, and considered the possible influence of current events and other external factors on these pictures. Significantly, the appearance of

Attic infants and youths in early fifth century red-figure probably reflects an increased sense of local patriotism and identity as a consequence of the Persian Wars. Further, Attic children remain a popular red-figure theme throughout the fifth century, and continue to be represented in the late fifth and fourth centuries, at a time when scenes of non-Attic heroic offspring had declined markedly in number. This is probably attributable to two circumstances, the first of which was most likely a reinforced sense of Attic patriotism during the Peloponnesian War. Secondly, the appearance in these years of a variety of red-figure divine and heroic children of Eleusinian character - namely, Dionysos Zagreus (28, 29), Ploutos (28, 39, 40, 41, 42), Iakchos (30), Mousaios (64), Eumolpos (63) and Hippothoon (65) - accords with the increasing importance of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the religious life of Athens. The apparent decline of interest in the representation of non-Attic heroic childhood subjects after circa 440 coincides with a growing interest in scenes of everyday life, and several red-figure artists seem to have redirected their talents to producing domestic scenes of mortal childhood.

Divine infants, with the exception of Dionysos, are found in red-figure only intermittently. Dionysos' popularity is probably connected with the growing prominence in fifth century Athens of the cult of Dionysos of Eleutheræ and its associated dramatic festivals. Furthermore, use of the god's childhood as a specific dramatic theme in, for example, Sophokles' satyr play

Dionysiskos or his Athamas (A), may have provided the inspiration for several of our vase-paintings. (17, 18, 19, 22) Indeed, such "theatrical" influence on red-figure childhood themes is probably also evident in scenes of the young Perseus (90-97), Orestes (173, 174) and Dryas. (181, 182) The use of child characters by the dramatists seems to have served at least two purposes.¹ On one hand they appear in tragedy as, for example, Astyanax in Euripides' Trojan Women, in order to exploit the pathos of the situation; a use of the child figure which is paralleled in vase-painting. On the other hand, childhood myths often provided the subject-matter for satyr plays, and where dramatic inspiration can be traced in vase-paintings of mythological children it is more commonly attributable to such satyr plays than to tragedy.² (see further 55 & 183)

Analysis of the iconographic types in use for the depiction of mythological children has shown that a few motifs are employed exclusively for specific gods or heroes: these include Dionysos emerging from Zeus' thigh (2, 3), Hermes lying in his liknon (31, 32), Apollo shooting his bow from the safety of his mother's arms (36), and Herakles strangling snakes or killing Linos. (66-9, 72-78) Generally, however, most types are interchangeable for a variety of mythological, and often also mortal, offspring. In such cases it is important to remember that similarity of iconography does not necessarily imply similarity of subject. I list below only the most commonly recurring or distinctive motifs.

Infants are most commonly represented as babes in arms, and for these a schema frequently repeated between about 480-50 comprises two confronted standing adult figures, one of whom - usually female - holds a child; often when the significance of the scene is greeting or farewell, the child twists in the arms of the person carrying him to stretch out his arms to the second figure. (6, 8, 14, 15, 33, 34, 35, 52, 79, 108, 171, 172, 193) Sometimes one of these adult figures may be seated. (7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 82, 83) The red-figure schema for the birth of a chthonic child, in which a woman emerging from the earth hands a baby to a waiting standing figure, has a long life covering the years from about 470-330. (28, 42, 44-48) A running or flying male or female carrying off a child or youth, denoting either abduction or delivery, is an iconographic formula frequently repeated throughout the fifth century. (see p 401-2) In scenes where violence is committed against a child or youth, black- and red-figure artists use the recurrent type of a small figure swung headlong over the shoulder of an adult, and also further repeat motifs of decapitation or dismemberment. (see p 405) In calmer scenes, a young child may be enfolded in the himation worn by his mother or nurse (35, 80, 90, 101), or may stand on the knees of a seated adult to denote parentage or adoption. (see p 40 & n 4) The middle and second half of the fifth century sees the addition of new red-figure motifs to the iconographic pool of types in use for the representation of children. These include the crawling infant (59-63, 65, 194), the suckling baby (65, 176, 180), and the child in

three-quarter or frontal view who rests his head on the shoulder of the man or woman carrying him. (188-190)

Even though the same or similar iconographic types are often employed for divine, heroic and mortal children, subtle differences do exist in the representation of the figures belonging to these discrete categories, variations which are a clue to the special nature or characteristics of each group. While heroic and mortal children may be represented at all stages of their development, from babyhood to adolescence, divine children (with the fourth century exceptions of the slightly older figures of Ploutos and Iakchos) are depicted as infants, and nearly always as babes in arms. The ancient sources confirm that it was the gift of the gods, fed on nectar and ambrosia, to grow and develop at an abnormally rapid rate and pass quickly through childhood. (see p 115, n 62) Just so, red-figure divine children suffer little of the indignity of childhood; never once, for example, do we see them in crawling pose. And yet, the fact that the birth and childhood myths of the gods first become a leading theme in classical art, not only in red-figure but also in monumental sculpture, perhaps indicates that the popular attitude towards the divine had changed since the archaic period, so that the gods now seemed more accessible, less remote.³

The difference in the status accorded to divine and heroic, as opposed to mortal, children is observed by red-figure artists: whilst mythological infants, such as

Dionysos, Herakles, Orestes and Achilles, are often depicted in the arms of male figures, mortal children are almost always shown in the care of women. This tells us much about the lowly status of women in fifth century Athens (see p 112, n 59), a factor which, combined with the equally lowly status of the child in that society (see p 21, n 1), probably accounts for the almost total absence of divine and heroic female infants. A female child would probably have seemed to the fifth century mind simply too human and undignified a figure to be anything but mortal. Girls, on the other hand, are plentiful in red-figure scenes of everyday life on vases of the second half of the fifth and fourth century.

The recurrent mythological theme of the endangered child is illustrated many times in red-figure. Almost all divine, and some heroic Attic infants are mortally threatened by danger, and it is their reaction to, or salvation from, this threat which reveals their special nature as "wonder-children". Tales of imperilled non-Attic mythological offspring are also depicted in red-figure, but the intention here is not to manifest their extraordinary and heroic characteristics, but instead to stress their plight: only in these scenes is grievous violence against a child shown, or is a child depicted as dead. Through the helplessness of the child figure the vase painter thus emphasises the horror of the situation and exploits the pathos of his composition.

As I have already observed, there is much borrowing and interchange of the red-figure iconography in use for mythological and mortal children, particularly between the types employed for divine and heroic and for heroic and mortal offspring.⁴ Those differences which do exist between the representation of figures belonging to these three groups do not, furthermore, generally consist of distinctions in the physical form of the child figure, but rather comprise variations in the behaviour which the child displays or in the pictorial context. On the whole, both mythological and mortal children are represented in Attic vase-painting as miniature adults until the late fifth century, when more naturalistic, childlike infant figures appear. This is clearly in part due to the vase-painters' increasing skills of draughtsmanship. However, since this development coincides with the decreasing frequency of mythological childhood scenes and an increase in the number of vases decorated with pictures of everyday life, it seems reasonable to suggest that while the miniature adult figure had seemed a suitably dignified form to give to infant gods and heroes, the shift of emphasis to scenes of mortal children caused the painters more closely to observe the anatomy of the infant.

This greater naturalism of form, consisting of chubbier limbs, softer and less well-muscled physique, and larger head is most commonly adopted in the last quarter of the fifth and fourth centuries for pictures of mortal children on choes, but is a development also evident in mythological

childhood scenes. (see, for example, 49, 59, 63, 124) Sometimes now white paint overlies the child's body. (see, for example, 48, 65, 83, 174) Attempts at the creation of more approximately childlike attitudes began earlier than did the common reproduction of a more realistic infant physique, and it is in the third quarter of the fifth century that crawling, suckling and other such infantile poses are established in red-figure. (see, for example, 46, 178, 180, 188-90, 194)

The depiction of the adolescent youth in red-figure remains, however, very ambiguous, a state of affairs which, like the absence of mythological female children from the iconographic record is, I believe, comprehensible through a study of fifth century Athenian attitudes towards childhood and youth. The examination of such mythological personalities as Triptolemos, Herakles, Theseus, Troilos and Tithonos has shown that the adolescent male could be depicted either in the guise of a boy or a man. Whilst with respect to Herakles and Theseus their attributes or the pictorial context, or both, can clarify their life stage, consideration of the same factors, and also the evidence of the ancient literary sources, does not enlighten us in the case of Triptolemos and Tithonos; they can be identified only as youthful figures, whose more precise life stage cannot be determined. Our single red-figure representation of Troilos in the guise of a boy is, on the other hand, a private artistic creation of Onesimos and one which is intended to exploit the pathos of his composition.

This lack of a recognisable iconographic type for the adolescent youth makes sense if we take into account the contemporary social perspective on adolescence. As I outlined in the Introduction, the official age of majority for an Athenian youth arrived in his eighteenth year. (see p 23 & n 5) Nevertheless, as far as we can tell from the ancient literary and archaeological evidence, a youth between the ages of about sixteen and twenty when he was, respectively, admitted to the phratry and completed his military training (see p 23 & notes 4 & 6) - entered a phase of liminal social status, being regarded as truly neither child nor man. Theseus in latest adolescence on the occasion of his visit to the sea bed has, as proud possessor of his father's sword, reached the age at which he can take up arms and enter combat: he provides a significant mythological parallel to the mortal ephebe. The observations made here about the depiction of adolescence in mythological scenes are applicable also to the representation of youth in red-figure scenes of everyday life and there, where the pictorial context is often less clear, should serve to caution against the subjective visual interpretation of age representation.

All this, however, should not lead us to think that individual painters did not occasionally tackle the problem of the representation of adolescence. There were, of course, a number of exceptional and perceptive artists who already in the early fifth century essayed to depict the various ages of man, and amongst these the Brygos Painter

was foremost. He depicts a range of mythological (31, 73, 115, 129, 130) and also mortal children, and of his buck-toothed little slave boy holding his master's staff and palaistra equipment on a skyphos in Boston Beazley comments that he is "one of the first ... real children in vase-painting".⁵ His fragmentary picture of Herakles killing Linos, (73) depicting the hero with a slighter and lithier physique than is common in such scenes, comes closer to reproducing the adolescent figure than does the work of most of his contemporaries. Also exceptional is the Kleophrades Painter's group of Priam and Astyanax on the Vivenzio hydria, (123) where the supple, slender young figure of the grandson contrasts with the thick and grizzled features of the old grandfather. Onesimos has been mentioned several times in this thesis and he, like the Brygos Painter, shows an early interest in the representation of youthful figures, though, as I have discussed, his use of such figures is sometimes very unconventional. (89, 113, 114, 186, ch 4 n 65) Also interested in childhood scenes in the early fifth century are the Berlin (66, 107, 126, 127), Eucharides (9, 91, 102, 163) and Tyszkiewicz (72, 80, 81, 119, 128) painters, and also Douris (43, 76, 131, 154, 156), although they all remain faithful to the black-figure tradition of depicting children as miniature adults. A black-figure artist who here deserves mention for his early interest in very unusual childhood subjects is the Diosphos Painter. (see ch 1 n 2, ch 3 n 136)

Moving further into the fifth century to the Early

Classical and Classical period we find mythological infants and boys frequently appearing on vases by the Altamura (8, 77, 120, 170), Nausikaa (4, 34, 69, 159, 181), Villa Giulia (11, 12, 13, 17, 160, 190), Phiale (18, 24, 103, 104) and Penthesilea (57, 75, 148, 149) painters, and also by Hermonax. (22, 45, 139-141) And in the late fifth century, with the appeal of mythological childhood themes to the Eretria and Meidias painters and their followers, a truly childlike figure is established in Attic vase-painting. (38, 49-51, 59-64, 176) (see p 462, table 2)

NOTES

1. On child characters in drama see GM Sifakis BICS 26 (1979), 67-80; DP Stanley-Porter BICS 20 (1973), 68-93; LA Post Classical Philology 34 (1939), 193-208; P Masqueray Revue des Etudes anciennes 8 (1906), 85-92.

2. E Simon in D Kurtz & B Sparkes, eds The Eye of Greece: Studies Robertson (1982), 123-148. See further on satyr plays DF Sutton Prudentia 13 (1981), 71-74; R Seaford Euripides Cyclops (1984), 26-33.

3. This is also a change in attitude to the divine which Kaempf-Dimitriadou suggests with regard to the representation of the love of the gods for mortals in red-figure pursuit scenes of the fifth century. See ch 4, p 339 & n 119.

For the birth and childhood of the gods in sculpture see:-

- infant Dionysos: ch 1, p 52 & n 10, p 55 & n 12, p 59 & n 21.

- infant Zeus: ch 2, p 87-8 & n 13-16.

- infant Apollo & Artemis: ch 2, p 93-4.

- births of Aphrodite & Athena: ch 2, p 110.

4. I have herein noted, for example, the similarities of the cupbearers Ganymede (155-164) and Dinopion (168-169) to mortal serving boys (ch 4, p 334 & n 102, p 402); of Lichas and Philoktetes (84-88) to boys assisting at sacrifice (ch 3, p 215 & n 158); of Ganymede running with hoop and stick and/or pursued by Zeus (126-152) to similar mortal running boys (ch 4, p 334 & n 100); of Mousaios (64) to schoolboys (ch 3, p 161 & n 56); of Kephalos (59) and Eumolpos (63) to crawling children (ch 3, p 169-70 & n 83); and of Alkmaion (177-179), Hyllos (79-83) and Meleager's son (193) to children in red-figure genre scenes which likewise depict the departure of a husband and father from his wife and child. (ch 4, p 365-7 & n 168-9)

5. Beazley in LD Caskey-JD Beazley Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston I (1931), 20.

Skyphos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.176. ARV 381.173, 1649: Para 368: Add 227.

520-500		500-490	490-80	480-70	470-60	460-50	450-40	440-30	430-20	420-10	410-400	400-350	350-300	TOTAL NO. OF VASES
Cup	6	7	9	4	3	2	2	2				1		36
Pelike		1	1	3	4	5	2	1		2	1	2	2	24
Hydria		1	2	2	4	5	2	2	1	1	2	1		23
Kalyx-krater			2			4	2	2	3		3	1		17
Bell-krater			1		2	3	3	2	1	1		3		16
Column-krater			1	3	2		1							7
Volute-krater					2	1						2		5
Lekythos			1	3	5	3			2	5				19
Neck-amphora	1	2	3	4	2	2						1		15
Stamnos		2	2		4		1							9
Skyphos				1	3	1								5
Oinochoe					1	1						1	1	4
Lekanis												1	2	3
Pyxis					1	1				1				3
Kantharos	1		1	1										3
Bobbin						1								1
Kyathos			1											1
Loutrophoros					1									1
Phiale		1												1
Plate										1				1
Rhyton											1			1
Stand						1								1
TOTAL NO. OF VASES	8	14	24	21	34	30	13	9	7	9	9	12	6	

TABLE 1: Frequency of representation of mythological children in Attic red-figure vase-painting

PAINTER	NUMBER OF VASES	CATALOGUE NUMBERS
Meidias Painter	6	38, 49, 50, 51, 63, 176
-manner of	3	60, 61, 62
Villa Giulia Painter	6	11, 12, 13, 17, 160, 190
-near to	1	82
Brygos Painter	5	31, 73, 115, 129, 130
Douris	5	43, 76, 131, 154, 156
Tyszkiewicz Painter	5	72, 80, 81, 119, 128
Nausikaa Painter	5	4, 34, 69, 159, 181
Hermonax	4	22, 139, 140, 141
-near to	1	45
Onesimos	4	89, 113, 114, 186
-manner of	1	58
Oltos	4	110, 111, 112, 155
Berlin Painter	4	66, 107, 126, 127
Eucharides Painter	4	9, 91, 102, 163
Altamura Painter	4	8, 77, 120, 170
Phiale Painter	4	18, 24, 103, 104
Penthesilea Painter	3	75, 148, 149
-or school of	1	57
Makron	3	10, 109, 185
Pan Painter	3	68, 132, 133
Niobid Painter	3	121, 177, 196

TABLE 2
Attic red-figure vase-painters decorating three or more vases
with mythological childhood scenes